

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Vol. XVI

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VOLUME XVI

JUNE 1942

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REINTEGRATING OUR CONCEPTS OF PRIVILEGED COMMUNICATION

A. DELAFIELD SMITH

WHEN knighthood was in flower, one could not with propriety seek to compel disclosure of a confidential conversation. Even lawyers defended their refusal to divulge the revelations made to them by their clients upon the plea that disclosure would impugn their professional honor, but not upon the ground that it would violate their clients' rights.

Thus it came about in 1776, when the Duchess of Kingston¹ was accused of bigamy, that her friend, Lord Barrington, was asked on the witness stand whether he had ever heard the accused say that she was married to Mr. Hervey. He answered: "If anything has been confided to my honor, or confidentially told me, I do hold, with humble submission to your lordships, that as a man of honor, as a man regardful of the laws of society, I cannot reveal it." Of course the solicitor-general promptly withdrew the question. There followed this remarkable gem of English from the lips of the eminent Lord Camden:

My lords, the laws of this land—I speak it boldly in this grave assembly—are to receive another answer from those who are called to depose at your bar,

¹ Duchess of Kingston's case, 20 How. St. Tr. 586 (1776); also Melville (ed.), in *Notable British Trials Series* (1927), p. 256.

than to be told that in point of honor and of conscience they do not think that they acquit themselves like persons of that description when they declare what they know.

When this case was tried the ebb tide had already set in. From this time on the ancient flood receding exposed the form of things beneath. Individual situations began to be differentiated.

This process is perhaps best described as a gradual substitution of socially scientific principle for the medieval codes of chivalry. At any rate, there have come to be defined a considerable array of distinctive "privileges," the general intendment of which is to protect from compulsory disclosure revelations of a confidential nature made by one party to the other in the course of, and for the purposes of, certain favored relationships. Included are the conjugal and typical professional relationships and, in the public field, a greatly expanded and increasingly diversified pattern dictated in some measure by administrative considerations.

Nearly all these testimonial privileges—as they are called—with the possible exception of such hoary halos as attach to the deliberations of a jury or the limited privilege of the public informer, have been subjected on occasion to the outspoken criticism of certain text writers and judges. In military terminology, the field is a "combat area." Much of this criticism, however, seems to be motivated in part by the injustice, or failure of justice, which results from sustaining the privilege in particular cases. A large proportion of the decisions under attack would meet with equal criticism from the proponents of privilege. They portray a lack of completeness in the process of definition. Further criticism emanates from those who would discard most of the rules which operate to exclude probative evidence from the purview of the court or jury. This attack should be considered as part of a general plan to streamline procedural law. Such criticism reflects in large measure the attitudes of those who would raise few, if any, barriers to the free expression of the truth for the truth's sake or who believe that there is little merit in placing screens before the public gaze.

It seems to be conceded, however, by most of these critics that the legislatures of this country could not at present be prevailed upon

to remove much of this structure.² It is the writer's opinion that sound and urgent reasons exist not only for maintaining this manifestation of the law's respect for intimacy but also for attempting once more to integrate the basic theory so as to compose again one principle of general application, conceived in scientific terms and applicable alike, except as rational differentiations must be made, to public and private relationships. Today we seem to have a myriad of separate rules. In the main, however, I believe that the law of privileged communications is a significant expression of the law's concern or regard for the security of the individual as a participant in relationships which the state considers it important to foster and protect and, it should be added, for the security and sanctity of the relationship itself.

In discussing any theory so definitely an aspect of human relationships, it is always important, I think, to begin with the family. The modern rule is applied here only in respect of the conjugal relationship. The demands of the seekers after truth, it is said, prevent the adoption of a broader pattern.³ Here, as elsewhere, however, the modern principle when sought to be examined historically is soon lost in the maze. More ideological concepts were formerly observed even in this country. For example, in years gone by, each spouse was held to be disqualified in any case from testifying in behalf of the other. Another rule, only half-alive today, is that which vests either spouse with the negative right or privilege of preventing the other from testifying against him. From this mêlée has emerged the more familiar principle which ordains that mutual marital confidences shall be respected at least in extra-familial issues. The principle, of course, would ordinarily not be applied when the case itself reflects some rupture in the relationship or when one spouse needs proof of the communications of the other in a mutual controversy.

² Cf. Edmund M. Morgan, "Some Observations concerning a Model Code of Evidence," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, LXXXIX (December, 1940), 145, 153.

³ Compare, e.g., the Roman pattern as stated by Max Radin, "The Privilege of Confidential Communication between Lawyer and Client," *California Law Review*, XVI (1927-28), 487, 488, where the author points out that children and slaves were embraced within the older legal proscriptions applicable to the testimony of family members.

The older rules, except as expressly limited, would by their very nature apply to the prejudice of intra-familial issues.

Despite familiarity with the criticism of privilege, it troubles me to find such an authority on family law as Vernier saying that he would abolish the modern rule along with the older rules above mentioned. Vernier's brief argument can be quoted verbatim. He asks:

How many husbands and wives know of it and extend confidences accordingly? If it were gone, how many would suppress such confidences and marital trust in anticipation of future litigation or crime? Are lawyers and their wives more trusting with each other than the laymen who know nothing of such law? It seems that practical reasoning on this subject of privileged communications will lead to their repudiation.⁴

Where, I would ask, is the logic in this paragraph? Normally, I must concede, neither spouse would be consciously affected in his statements to the other by the mere unforeseeable chance that the revealed fact might some day be established to his injury through compulsion exercised against the will of his consort. I admit that I am not the least freer in the bestowal of confidences than I would be if I had never heard of the subject. I may feel even less secure in this practice to the extent that I am aware of occasions on which the law has been outwitted. But how does all this justify a brutal disregard of the confidential pattern in legal procedure? Marital confidences, it has been said, are given in token of an unalterable faith and confidence. A New York court has said:

A husband trusts in the affection and loyalty of his wife, and a wife in that of her husband. Induced thereby, one often confides to the other his or her inmost thoughts, revealing that which would ordinarily be concealed from every other person in the world. Such communications are confidential, because of the source from which they spring.⁵

Moreover, knowledge of principles applied in modern psychiatry would, I assume, carry this reasoning somewhat further along the way. "Induced," even with its legal implications, is a pretty weak word with which to express the constraints imposed by the marital relationship. And from the reciprocal standpoint, if the relationship

⁴ C. G. Vernier, *American Family Laws* (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1932), III, § 226, 589.

⁵ *Sheldon v. Sheldon*, 131 N.Y.S. 291, 293; 146 App. Div. 430 (1911).

is close enough and the issue of sufficient significance, one may become concerned about burdening one's spouse with embarrassing knowledge while in nowise anticipating its possible disclosure. The rule of privilege then becomes a necessary instrument in the hands of the communicant by which he may be able to protect the innocent repository of his confidences. I should be very much annoyed with a legal rule which did not hesitate to use the marital relationship as a very painful means of establishing facts in a case to which the privilege would, if recognized, properly apply. No doubt abolition of the rule would materially aid the establishment of the desired case record, especially in certain criminal cases where the defendant's intent or state of mind is the fact to be demonstrated; but the law cannot afford to put forth its special needs as an excuse for behavior that not only is not exemplary but is also far more expedient than farsighted. The security of the marital relationship invokes the relentless compulsions of loyalty. It betokens a fundamental faith in the dynamics and potentialities of sheltered intimacy. Nature protects her agencies from the warping consequences of overexposure. We reach a point, I think, at which the judicial demand for the free and unfettered utterance of fact must yield to the conditions coveted by an intimacy which is still too deep for human evaluation.

True it is that the legal principle we are talking about is primarily devised to afford a protection against compulsory disclosure. This does not mean, however, that, when the issue arises in a judicial proceeding and the communicant happens also to be present or represented, the witness would be permitted to testify over the objection of the communicant even if he were willing to do so. Ordinarily this would not be permitted, because the communicant is the one to whom the privilege attaches and who therefore is entitled to control the issue when it arises. The compulsion thus restrained is a force that would operate against the communicant's will.

The privilege, also, is terminable in most instances at the will of the declarant who called it into being. Section 349 of the New York Civil Practice Act, however, states the rule thus: "A husband or wife shall not be compelled, or without consent of the other if living, allowed to disclose a confidential communication made by one to the other during marriage." I take it there might be some question

whether or not under the foregoing language a spouse is properly ordered to reveal the statement when the communicant has consented or "waived" the privilege in the particular case. Ordinarily the witness would be required to testify in that event, since, as just stated, the privilege "belongs" to the communicant. When through action of the communicant the communication is no longer confidential, or when he has expressly consented to the disclosure, or when he has placed himself in a position in which he cannot consistently object further to disclosure, the privilege is said to be waived and therefore no longer operative.

Consideration of this matter will soon suggest to one's mind, however, how easily the whole structure might be undermined by any loose application of this theory. Indeed, it is too delicate a problem to permit of abstract solution. Statement of the conditions under which authorization to make disclosure for particular purposes may be implied presents, as noted below, an acute problem from the administrative standpoint.

It is clear at any rate that the principle of privilege is a shield and not a sword—a true weapon of defense and not offense. It presents itself as a tribute to the inherent strengths of the particular relationship rather than as a sanction for the implementation of relationships. It is an example of the obligations which a confidential enclave imposes upon external society to restrain from its embarrassment. The distinction between such a principle and an alleged right to avoid a public duty to state the fact because, forsooth, of a mere private promise or undertaking not to do so and the distinction between the maintenance of relational loyalties in these typical situations and attitudes motivated by mere sentimentality is not hard to accept. The voluntary private promise in this instance is easily disposed of. The public policy which brings privilege into being also outlaws such potential instrumentalities of evasion. These distinctions the law amply and aptly attests in requiring that the privileged statement be of a genuinely confidential nature, an outgrowth of the relationship itself, and also in manifesting its willingness to make appropriate distinctions between voluntary and involuntary communications in determining the degree of protection that may justifiably be granted.

Laymen sometimes refer to the law of privileged communications almost exclusively in terms of private professional relationships, especially attorney and client, doctor and patient, and priest and penitent. The last of the three is perhaps more familiar to writers than to the lawyer, and only the first exists as a rule of law in the absence of statutory provision. However, the popular emphasis on professional relationships may reflect a genuinely favorable attitude toward the application of the principle in this crucial area. If so, there is an implied repudiation of Bentham's argument⁶ which, in attacking the principle, centered upon the attorney-client relationship itself. Wigmore sums up the Bentham argument by saying: "It always comes back to this, that the deterring of a guilty man from seeking legal advice is no harm to justice, while the innocent man has nothing to fear and therefore will not be deterred."⁷ The following sentences contained in Wigmore's refutation of the argument strongly impress me. He says:

If the counsellor were compellable to disclose . . . certainly the position of the legal adviser would be a difficult and disagreeable one; for it must be repugnant to any honorable man to feel that the confidences which his relation naturally invites are liable at the opponent's behest to be laid open through his own testimony. He cannot but feel the disagreeable inconsistency of being at the same time the solicitor and the revealer of the secrets of the cause. . . . If only for the sake of the peace of mind of the counsellor, it is better that the privilege should exist.

To my mind this language serves a purpose of greater significance than can be comprehended in any attempt to refute the time-worn argument of Bentham. It seems to indicate that the security of the person to whom the communication is addressed is a point to be considered as well as the security of the communicant. It is in this direction that one looks for future development. As I have pointed out, the law swung all the way from a rule which recognized the conventional social obligations of the addressee to one designed to protect the security of the communicant on a basis of objective right or privilege. This complete shift, however, may have motivated some

⁶ *Bowring's Edition of Bentham*, VII, 473-75, quoted by Wigmore, *A Treatise on the Anglo-American System of Evidence in Trials at Common Law* (3d ed., 1940), VIII, § 2291, 555, 557.

⁷ *Ibid.*

of its critics. As I have remarked with respect to marital confidences, one cannot help but sympathize with the person to whom such weighty matters are communicated and who finds himself burdened with the knowledge. One's mind reverts also to the many occasions when the social or legal obligations of the addressee urge or compel disclosure. The requirement that the physician file a certificate stating the cause of death, for example, is usually considered an exception to the patient's privilege. Other similarly motivated exceptions to this and other types of privilege will readily occur to the reader. Ordinary case law also exemplifies a number of typical situations in which the public policy that is relied upon to support the whole structure is not deemed strong enough to support its application in the particular case.

Social workers may find in this point a suggestion of their basic problem of finding a balance between the duty to the client and the duty to society or to the community at large. The law amply attests this source of conflict. Indeed, the protection which the law of privileged communications affords almost always has to be applied under pressure. Unless we recognize this truism, we will often be caught off guard or will be tempted to find a basis of exception in almost every significant situation. This basic conflict cannot be avoided, I think, since the rule is intended to supply a control over the escape or release of pertinent revelations. In this respect the doctrine seems to resemble a boiler which is actually intended to operate under pressure and for which, indeed, a safety valve is an inherent necessity.

It should be noted, moreover, that to the expert, in this field as in many another, genuine exceptions are rare. Most so-called "exceptions" reflect only a lack of precision in definition. Indeed, once you have segregated the various types of conflict that arise between the parties themselves—situations where one party needs the communications of the other to support his side of an intrarelational issue and where, as often happens, the relationship itself is at stake—the matter is greatly simplified. It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss certain typical situations which call for the exercise of discretion or the balancing of divergent public policies or of public policy and private urgency in or out of court. In emphasizing

the delicate situation which often confronts the addressee of a confidential communication, I had more directly in mind this added proof that the principle we are discussing is the natural and, I should say, inevitable concomitant of confidential relationships. It applies to the relationship itself and hence to the security of the individual only as one of the parties to the relationship. It is applied for relational purposes and not otherwise. Hence it is important to recognize that each of these relationships is one of the attachments or points of conjunction in the social web. In applying these principles we need to keep in mind the entire social operation of this and other similar relationships and all the points of contact which as units they have with the community. In other words, we are dealing with society's components, not with entities that can be in anywise set apart and regarded separately from the rest of the social fabric.

The difficulty in adjusting one's self to the application of the principle in a particular case does not reflect weakness in the principle so much as it does a difference of attitude, judgment, or opinion with respect to the demands of duty, loyalty, and honor, especially as applied in the course of a professional relationship. Every individual has many different loyalties. To the extent that persons who are joined in mutual endeavor merge in common loyalty to another, there would seem to be less occasion for conflict. Presumably that in itself is a reason why restraint is necessary at the threshold of all intimate human relationships.

The law of privilege recognizes the essential identification of interest between the professional person and the client. You cannot function well in this relationship as long as you have reservations about placing yourself on the plane of the individual client, or fail to adopt his problem as your own, or, while seeking to supplement and strengthen his purposes, his knowledge, his purview, and his will, fail to observe conscientiously the rule that the relationship does not make you a dictator of the cause or leave you free to disclose a confidence, the reposal of which was justifiable under all the circumstances.

When you enter the public field, it appears to make a great deal of difference from what direction you have approached it. The points

already made should have the added function of furnishing a pattern upon which the administrative picture must be superimposed.

To begin with, there unquestionably is such a thing as a genuine "state secret," or secret of state, the disclosure of which would be embarrassing to the existing government. This appears to be a narrow field and a highly discretionary and rather subjective one too. Moreover, from the relational standpoint the situation appears to be somewhat *en revers*. It seems to be the state itself, or government, which in theory is possessed of the privilege. No communication appears to be involved except indeed it be a communication to those who in their official capacity must of necessity be informed. I find no natural avenue from this concept to a discussion of the law of privileged communications as applied in the public field.

Much more suggestive is the informer's privilege—I mean the limited right of one who gives information to government, especially to prosecuting, officials, to remain incognito. Authorities seem to find a genuine relationship, or analogy at least, between this principle and the general run of statutes under which various administrative agencies—the tax authorities, as well as certain regulatory and fact-finding agencies among others—are authorized to deny any general access, especially to the returns and reports required to be made to them pursuant to law. The obvious motive to establish the unalloyed truth for the special purposes of the particular law indicates the analogy. Interestingly enough, Wigmore includes in this list "family facts, required to be disclosed to Census officials" and "facts of personal history in general, disclosed in the administration of various social welfare acts."⁸

I believe, however, that the major portion of the regulations which deny or limit access to the records of federal agencies are validated by Title 5, section 22, of the *United States Code*, which provides merely the following:

The head of each department is authorized to prescribe regulations, not inconsistent with law, for the government of his department, the conduct of its officers and clerks, the distribution and performance of its business, and the custody, use, and preservation of the records, papers, and property appertaining to it.

⁸ *Ibid.*, § 2377(5), p. 773.

The litigation involving Judge Lindsey of the Denver, Colorado, juvenile court furnishes an important commentary on the whole subject.⁹ The case grew out of the revelations made to Judge Lindsey by the boy, Neal Wright, whose mother was being prosecuted for the murder of his father. Two grounds of privilege were urged: one based upon the statute relating to the examination of public officers regarding communications made to them "in official confidence," a privilege the application of which, under the Colorado statute, was highly discretionary with the court; the other that "the judge of the juvenile court, standing as *parens patriae* to those within its jurisdiction, is protected by the law from divulging anything communicated to him in confidence, as such judge." While the privilege was not sustained under the circumstances of the case, three judges dissented, and their opinion discusses persuasively and at length the reasons which dictate the provision of a broad and mobile shield to protect the intimacy of the relationship between the child and the judge.

Such an instance as this emphasizes the essential unity of principle observable throughout the private and public fields. Hence the approach that I would urge in the latter case is one which in so far at least as concerns all social programs would tend to establish the essential or potential integration of the principle with the same doctrine as it is exemplified and as it is operative in the field of private relationships. Possible analogies between the normal compulsions of marital and professional relationships and the involuntary character of the individual's returns and reports, as, for example, in the field of taxation, provide interesting matter for speculation. They are, however, conditions rather than underlying reasons for the invocation of privilege.

The real significance of the recent trend derives, in my estimation, from the fact that government has actually invaded the professional field. Prior to the outbreak of the war, at least, there were evidences of reorientation of governmental ends in terms of the enrichment of family and individual life, a goal which constitutes a possible definition of the professional function. In an effort to describe my conception of it to the schools of social work, for example, I said: "I

⁹ *Lindsey v. People ex rel. Rush*, 66 Colo. 343; 181 P. 531, 537 (1919).

think we are an organ of society whose function it is to get a little of all these wonderful theories and principles and scientific discoveries into life as it is lived. We are the distributing system. We are the functioning organ giving and taking—giving science its data, taking scientific analysis into life.”¹⁰ This, I think, is the obvious explanation and sound basis of the present broad demand for the protection of agency records in the majority of modern governmental programs of social import. Appreciation of this truth is necessary to meet the arguments of those who criticize nearly all cloture. Three of these arguments should be mentioned at this point. The first derives from the fact that the participants in these programs are in theory at least their beneficiaries, not their victims. The second points out that, while for the most part the records would not exist at all except they were called into being by the program itself, yet it must be conceded that there has been a grave invasion upon the treasured doctrine of open public records. The third rests on the belief, still widely held, that publicity is in most instances an essential therapeutic. Not everyone accepts the fact that skilled, scientific, and thoroughly impartial administration plus, let us say, a little self-discipline is, and of right ought to be, regarded as a complete substitute for such restraints as may arise from fear of the public stocks. On this latter point, it seems to me, I have heard something almost the reverse of Bentham’s argument. It is the reserved but worthy individual, not the undeserving parasite, who is deterred by failure to apply the rule of privacy.

Of the three arguments listed in the preceding paragraph, by far the most subtle is the first. It invokes the thesis that the recipients of public benefits should not be heard to complain if the information they give, or make available, is of interest to or acted upon by any other public agency or even by any “taxpayer.” I have never been able to assure myself, however, that any appeal actually made for disclosure on this basis is prepared to deal satisfactorily with the obvious argument that the information is peculiarly desirable and credible because of the guaranties under which it was obtained and

¹⁰ “The Interrelationship of Education and Practice in the Development of a Profession.” An address by the author before the American Association of the Schools of Social Work, January 26, 1939.

that its release for other purposes assaults the goose itself. But the final answer to this argument lies in the denial of its basic assumption. Like many other rules of procedure, the law of privilege reflects substantive considerations. If the program itself is a normal and essential phase of our industrialized economy, its operation ought not to be conditioned upon the individual participant's performance of unrelated obligations or upon the exposure of his Achilles' heel. Hence, one's attitude toward the treatment of agency records may be said to reflect one's conception of the program itself.

While in the ensuing pages I advert in the main to public assistance and welfare programs in the stricter sense, other programs furnish equally cogent demonstrations of the need for the protection of records and communications. The procedures of the modern employment office, for example, demonstrate more and more effectively its truly professional nature.

The relevant requirements introduced into the social security program were the product of experience. The basic amendments of August, 1939, to the Social Security Act provided a specific statutory underpinning for regulations of the Board with respect to its own records,¹¹ especially significant in respect to the wage records and other information obtained in the operation of the program of old age and survivors' insurance. At the same time there was added the requirement, applicable to all plans of public assistance, that they "provide safeguards which restrict the use or disclosure of information concerning applicants and recipients to purposes directly connected with the administration of old-age assistance" (or aid to the blind or to dependent children as the case may be).¹² The latter amendments have been appropriately implemented by the issuance of the Social Security Board's policy interpretation¹³ by which, also, it established standards for the guidance of the states in action taken

¹¹ Social Security Board Regulation No. 1, as amended, "Disclosure of Official Records and Information," approved December 3, 1940, *Code of Federal Regulations* (1940 supp.), Part 401, chap. iii, Title 20. Social Security Act, as amended, § 1106.

¹² Social Security Act, Title I, § 2(a)(8); Title IV, § 402(a)(8); Title X, § 1002(a)(9).

¹³ Social Security Board, *Standards for Safeguarding Information concerning Applicants and Recipients of Public Assistance*, May 7, 1941.

to comply with this requirement. There have since followed not only formulation of policy and promulgation of administrative regulations on the part of the various state agencies but also enactments of supporting statutory provisions where necessary. These statutory provisions have naturally followed some uniformity of pattern. In general, they give the various agencies the necessary rule-making power and provide sanctions against their violation.

A basic element in the federal requirement applicable to state laws and plans of public assistance, however, is its prohibition of the publication and misuse of names and addresses or other identifying information. This latter requirement appears pretty definite, precise, and adamant. Its motivation is equally plain. It provides a degree of actual insulation. What it really does in theory, it seems to me, is to define and establish by statute a special case of the right of privacy. The right of privacy, it will be remembered, is the type of right that is violated, for example, by the publication of one's photograph or other personal identification, especially under circumstances likely to cause embarrassment. Ordinarily, the issue of truth or falsity is not involved in such cases, although invasions of the right are often aggravated by false and misleading implications. Rights of privacy are largely creations of the common law, restated and considerably strengthened in modern times. This, also, is evidence of a trend that may reflect a growing conviction of the individual's need to be protected from the extraordinary techniques of the commercial advertisers and publicity experts of our time: "If personal liberty embraces the right of publicity, it no less embraces the correlative right of privacy. . . . 'Liberty of speech and of writing is secured by the Constitution, and incident thereto is the correlative liberty of silence, not less important nor less sacred.'"¹⁴

The phrase "related to the administration of public assistance" in the above-quoted provisions of the Social Security Act states, however, the full scope of the legal privilege as it relates to any information given or made available by the client to the public assist-

¹⁴ *Pavesich v. New England Life Ins. Co. et al.*, 122 Ga. 190, 50 S.E. 68, 70, 71 (1905), cited in "The Right of Privacy—a Half Century's Developments," by Louis Nizer, 39 *Michigan Law Review* 526 (February, 1941), where the modern need for the development of this concept is cogently stressed.

ance agency. This means essentially, I think, that the scope and purposes of the relationship must at all times constitute the agency's guide in interpreting what use of information is or is not legally and socially justifiable. Like every other privilege it seeks to afford protection against "compulsory" disclosure for purposes unrelated to those for which it was given.

The question, for example, has arisen in proceedings relative to the employment of children under age limits in coal mines. The laws with respect to the employment of minors should of course be enforced. But the administration of aid to dependent children has a deeper objective in seeking to remove conditions that have presumably favored the spread of these injurious practices. The agency requires the co-operation of the family in its efforts. It has developed techniques and procedures for this purpose. The agency, then, implemented by its statutory authorization and mandate to administer a basic social corrective, is operating on the part of the family in a capacity both official and professional. The effectiveness of its action may be deeply prejudiced by any failure to provide in this situation the essential relational safeguard which the law of privileged communication exemplifies.

The test suggested by this illustration is not obscure. The agency in this situation has its own responsibilities. The facts sought to be elicited from its representatives in the enforcement proceedings are those which it has obtained in pursuance of an appeal made to it by the family for the exercise of its ministrative functions. It has received the mother's story in anticipation of its ability and willingness to fulfil these responsibilities and provide acceptable solutions. The rule of privilege is needed to assure to the agency opportunity to establish the efficacy of its own program, unprejudiced by the necessity of becoming involved in charges of misrepresentation, waivers of age certification, or other conflicting points of view and position arising in the course of such proceedings. Avoidance of any breach of faith in this situation seems to require restriction of its activities to the role it was appropriately called upon to fulfil.

In contradistinction to this situation circumstances basically prejudicial to the achievement of its objectives will occur in the development of the relation. Misrepresentation of essential facts—efforts to

circumvent eligibility conditions—and other like factors may come to light. In that case the communications themselves will usually be found directly in issue between the client and the agency. In this event, of course, the rule of privilege would cease to operate defensively, and since it is always a shield and not a sword, it cannot be invoked.

The communications made to the agency will also be found at issue upon the client's appeal from the agency's decision. The client himself will have framed the very issue. This may occur in hearings before the agency's fair-hearing panel, before an examiner, or in a court in like case. These situations involve obvious waivers of privilege.

There are, however, many intermediate situations in relation to which the agency assumes certain broad responsibilities that may be deemed to have arisen within the confines of the particular relationship. In the case of family desertion, according to sound social practice, the agency will ordinarily need to develop a plan with the mother and children. The plan will involve solutions in relation to the future maintenance of the family, possibly in relation to the performance of the father's obligation to support, possibly even in relation to the disposition of the child. This plan is an outgrowth of the relationship between the agency and the client. The execution of such a plan may involve the invocation of legal sanctions needed to implement its administrative dispositions. In the course of its execution a referral may be made to other welfare services of the state for which the state agency assumes responsibility in terms of its general responsibility for the family in this situation.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the principle we are discussing always assumes faithful adherence by the agency to its assumed position in relation to the family. Respect due to a reposed confidence is consonant in the main only with a socially desirable approach to the agency's responsibilities. Achievement of the objectives of the agency in its planning will ordinarily require that the family members be made fully aware of all significant implications and their co-operation sought in the execution of the plan upon the basis of the agency's assumption of responsibility for eventualities. If the agency conceives the matter from the standpoint of what is

and is not within the scope of the relationship and the objectives of the relationship and is always acting with the full understanding and, as far as possible, co-operation of its clients, the interests of privilege will ordinarily be subserved automatically.

I am not unmindful of the fact that many questions and reservations will spring to the mind of the active social-work practitioner as he reads these lines. To some extent they are the products of his experience in difficult situations, especially those involving profound ignorance, prejudice, or even emotional and mental disturbance. I think I have already allowed some room for the play of these influences. But must not a lawyer who is interested in preserving individual rights of choice and freedom assume in general that the ability exists to exercise them or that resort has been appropriately had to those basic methods of legal representation and guardianship whereby these rights are projected into situations of incapacity, incompetency, and even death!

Today we are at war. If the client is an enemy alien or is guilty of subversive activities, the whole relationship becomes administratively severable. The relationship itself is thus placed in jeopardy by considerations of dominant public policy that supersede for the nonce all others. However, I take it that the rights and interests of the other members of the program, as well as Anglo-Saxon traditions of fair play, dictate the propriety of insisting that a reasonable basis be shown for the examination of any individual case record by the protective agencies of our government. The doctrine from the legal standpoint, however, is obviously an attribute of our democratic ideals of individual freedom, hence, like others of its tribe, it must yield somewhat to the exigencies of this martial interlude.

Two other points of a precautionary nature may be interpolated at this point. The first is the obvious conclusion that there is nothing in the law of privilege which need embarrass the agency in the issuance of statistical data and in the release of informative demonstrations of its experience. The rule of privilege as has been seen applies to specific revelations and communications affecting the individual recipient. The second point is possibly a related one. The law of privilege is obviously not intended to ward off authorized inquiries into the efficacy of administration. Such an application of the rule would

tend to give it a specific function of protecting administrative officials rather than clientele relationships. The grand jury in this country, for example, frequently has jurisdiction to make inquiry into the conduct of administrative officials. For this purpose it may need to examine specific portions of records with respect to alleged inefficiency or violations of law. Indeed the functions of the grand jury under our system are such that the testimony and communications to the grand jury are themselves privileged.

The issue for the agency no doubt arises much more often out of court than in court. Intermediately, moreover, there are many types of investigations, discovery proceedings, and enforcement proceedings involving applications of the police power to which the rule is pertinent. The patient's privilege, for example, was recently applied in a municipal investigation involving procedures in a New York hospital.¹⁵

The universality of principle that seems to me to underlie the law of privileged communications dictates my approach to the general problem of the relationship of the agency to the conventional courts in this realm. What the courts look for in the first place is a definite expression of the agency's policy in a carefully drafted regulation. The basic attitudes of the agency will then be found portrayed in legally recognizable form. When the specific issue arises in court, moreover, the agency should also be prepared in view of the importance of the precedents thus established to give the court a properly implemented statement of the basic reasons for the regulations and of their significance.

The attitude of the court will usually be found sympathetic to the rule as in the McGowan case¹⁶ in New York where, notwithstanding a very loosely drawn regulation, the court definitely carried the basic theory over from the private to the public field. In some quarters, however, evidence has arisen of a tendency on the part of the agency staff to regard the issue before the court with some trepidation. Such an attitude will usually be found to have arisen from some lack of understanding of the legal situation. The witness and the agency

¹⁵ *New York City Council v. Goldwater*, 284 N.Y. 296, 31 N.E. (2d) 31 (1940), in which case the court confirmed its previous language as follows: "The statute should have a broad and liberal construction, to carry out its policy."

¹⁶ *McGowan v. Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.*, 253 N.Y.S. 551 (1931).

may properly accept the fact that the underlying principle is basically one of judicial conception and development. In a conventional proceeding it is the right and duty of the judge or examiner to determine the admissibility of evidence in cases arising before him. This includes the right to determine the applicability of the regulation in the particular case. Objection to the use of the agency records and confidential information, however, will in the ordinary case be found strongly supported by the attorney whose client's interests are opposed to those in pursuance of which the subpoena was served upon the agency. It is quite conceivable that the particular facts sought to be elicited may properly be held admissible notwithstanding the regulation. The regulation itself may be found unnecessarily broad or inapplicable. The privilege may have been waived by the client, and the agency may in that case have no further public interest to subserve in withholding the statement sought.

However, the principle must be maintained, and agency regulations are often properly and purposefully drawn in rather drastic and inclusive terms. It is beyond the scope of this memorandum to deal at any length with the special remedies which may be availed of in instances where the applicable regulation may be arbitrarily disregarded. It is urged that our basic concern here is not so much with the individual case as with the development of a sound and sympathetic legal situation. If, however, the judge is deemed clearly wrong in his ruling and the harm that would ensue is such that avoidance of the disclosure in the particular case is deemed an end in itself, it may be possible to appeal at once to the supervisory jurisdiction of the appellate court or even to defy the sanctions available to the trial judge. In the well-known case of *Boske v. Comingore*,¹⁷ for example, the regulation of a federal agency was regarded by the state judge as unauthorized and unconstitutional. The witness in obedience to the agency's decision declined to testify, and, a writ of habeas corpus having issued out of the federal court which had jurisdiction over the subject matter, the position of the witness was sustained. The witness in such cases of conflicting jurisdiction is, of course, properly accorded the advice and services of the district attorney.

¹⁷ 177 U.S. 459, 20 Sup. Ct. 701, 44 L. Ed. 846 (1899).

The notion that the witness is likely to be faced with the prospect of going to jail, however, should, I am sure, be suppressed; and, while tactics of the kind above cited appear to be justifiable in certain cases, especially where such procedure appears to be the only appropriate means of obtaining a needed precedent, the layman, unfamiliar with legal techniques, may conceive the picture as unduly stern because of its frame. As applied to public assistance information, the federal requirement contains no such implications, and the courts may, I suggest, be relied upon to rule appropriately and sympathetically upon these important social issues. To be sure, timid souls, aware that judicial minds do not always function in domestic harmony, may with propriety point one finger at the possibility of an arbitrary disregard of the agency's rule by a judge or other examining official and another finger simultaneously at the penal sanctions applicable to any unauthorized disclosure. Theoretically the witness may be placed in an uncomfortable position, but it is difficult to conceive that judicial compulsion would not be accepted by the authorities concerned as a very appealing and sufficient explanation if not a strictly legal defense.

However, basic social progress is not easily made. The juvenile court is a case in point. I have already referred to the Lindsey case, in which, unfortunately, it is only in the dissenting opinion that one finds the following language:

I am distinctly of the opinion that the construction to be accorded this statute should in the very nature of things be broad and liberal. It is manifest that the one announced by the majority of this court fails utterly to take into consideration the material progress which has been made in judicially providing for the care, management and uplift of delinquent and wayward children through the establishment of courts like the one under consideration, and that consequently the construction given the act by the majority opinion is not in harmony with modern and enlightened jurisprudence.

I think this judicial appeal for a broad and liberal construction of such safeguards of this character as have been commonly adopted in juvenile court statutes is exceedingly pertinent. My attention has been called, for example, to the form of provision contained in the Act establishing the juvenile court of the District of Columbia. It reads: "The disposition of a child or any evidence given in the court

shall not be admissible as evidence against the child in any case or proceeding in any other court, nor shall such disposition or evidence or adjudication operate to disqualify a child. . . ."¹⁸ If this provision is not given a very broad construction, it would seem appropriate to seek its amendment in order that the communications and revelations made to the court's investigators and appearing in the files of the investigation and probation departments are protected. They are not necessarily "evidence given in the court," but they certainly seem pertinent sources of judicial orientation on the issue of treatment. If the juvenile court is to function in the manner intended by its sponsors, it would seem that the relationship between the child and the judge or court should be very broadly conceived and fully protected.

I am also not unmindful of the fact that the integrated doctrine of privilege as it is conceived in these pages would demand exemplification in areas in which today it is either not applied or is too grudgingly applied. The innate vigor of the principle is strikingly manifested in the willingness of society to protect familial relationships, and the security of the individual in these relationships, by means of provisions of limited purview affecting even the required reports and records of birth, placement, adoption, and related proceedings. Such provisions seem to be not so much extensions of the doctrine as methods of control and regulation conceived in deference to its underlying tenets.

As respects the status of the social-work profession itself, these paragraphs are, of course, intended to attest my belief that the law is being made to recognize the need for the protection of its relationships on a decidedly broader front. Powerful influences seem to be pressing on toward the reintegration of legal principle in this whole area. The teachings of modern social science are influencing the law directly, by statute, and, last but not least, by the impact of sound administrative policy.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

¹⁸ *District of Columbia Code* (1940), Title 11, § 915.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE SECOND-YEAR CURRICULUM OF THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS¹

GORDON HAMILTON

WHITEHEAD² in his stimulating essays on education tells us that the justification of a university is that it preserves the "connection between knowledge and the zest of life in the imaginative consideration of learning." The professional school certainly does not exist for mere imparting of knowledge or mere opportunities for research. It must exist—its main function must be—to produce people who know how to put together effectively knowledge and experience. The adventure of thought, to paraphrase Whitehead, must meet the adventure of practice both imaginatively and realistically. With this as our main consideration, where are we today?

I take it that we have four phases to consider in our curriculum-building: the professional, the first year, the second year, and the third year, which some schools now call the "advanced" curriculum. All these phases affect our concept of the second year. The preprofessional contents affect our problem, since deficiencies in the social sciences may be made up at some time during the professional period, and it makes a great deal of difference whether a course is taken to fill in a gap in the floor, so to speak, or whether one is taking a course in taxation or anthropology to strengthen a genuine and appropriate professional interest. The basic minimum curriculum, important as it has been, is admittedly too thin to represent even the outlines of a two-year course; and, since so many of our social work students do

¹ A paper read at a meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, January, 1942, at Pittsburgh. In her introductory statement, the speaker said: "I have been asked by the Program Committee to prepare a paper on the second-year curriculum. If I seem to you, as I seem to myself, rash in attempting to discuss a subject on which there has been so little previous consideration by this Association, you will, I am sure, be willing to regard this as an excursion in which I have set myself only the task of formulating some of the questions and issues—not giving the answers."

² A. N. Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and Other Essays* (New York, 1929).

not complete a two-year course, it has been often pulled into the shape most needed by the one-year student—that is to say, it has been spread-eagled into a patchwork for orientation in several areas rather than becoming the basis of a planned series. In a general way, the minimum curriculum has become the uniform *required* curriculum, and it has been largely placed in the first year's work.

The third year, I believe, we are not warranted in considering too seriously while the state of our two-year curriculum is so precarious. For the present we may as well leave the third year for experimentation and specialization along any lines the schools' creative genius, facilities, and budgets permit. Flattering, tempting, or coercive as pressure and interests in the practicing fields may be, the schools have an immediate obligation to make the second-year program worth the money and sacrifice of our students, and I am not sure that at present we can feel too comfortable about it.

In approaching the question of the second-year curriculum, I tried first to determine from the catalogue announcements in all the schools what really happened. There were so many variables—part-time lectures, allied courses in social science, courses announced but not given, courses that might be taken in any order—that I gave up in despair. I then wrote to the ten schools which have the largest number of second-year students and asked for sample student programs and comment. I had a most kind and generous response to this inquiry, and most of my interpretation today is derived from these data. You will object that this approaches the problem from the point of view of the larger schools. This is regrettably true, and I can only say that time and practical considerations dictated the limitation and that there were enough variations and (I might dare say) confusion in the larger schools to satisfy anyone with an appetite for problems without going any further.

According to the latest *Newsletter*,³ the total enrolment as of November 1, 1941, in thirty-eight schools was 5,756 students, of whom 4,886 were majoring in social work. Of these again, only 2,527 were full time; of whom 904 received the Master's Degree in 1940-41. An additional 329 received a diploma or certificate, but for many

³ Association of Schools of Social Work. Vol. VII, No. 2 (December, 1941).

this would not represent two years of work. (The New York School, with 47 diploma candidates and 160 Masters, would be a large exception, as this diploma has always represented two years of work.) Assuming that there were more second-year students, including part-time, than the degree and diplomas represent, it is doubtful whether the whole group would be more than 1,200. The more striking fact is that, for the academic year noted, only five schools had 50 or more Masters and twenty schools had 10 or less. Three schools with a range of 30 to 50 Masters had a fairly large part-time enrolment, so this might increase the number of second-year students. But, when we observe that about half the schools in the Association have a full-time enrolment of 25 or less and therefore could not possibly have many second-year students, we see at once how impossible it is for these schools to offer a wide range of courses in the second year. We must also note that in several of the large schools, because of educational leave and other realistic conditions, the second year may be discontinuous—and I seem to find considerable evidence of this. In one large school, out of 202 second-year students, only 59 were engaged in a continuous, full-time, full-academic-year schedule. I got the impression from comments in the letters received that for the employed workers (seeking, often at great hardship, to complete a postentry training) a good many concessions—such as paid field work, advanced credit, pegging out too many courses on part time, etc.—are made. I do not say that compromises are a good thing or a bad thing—state merit systems, lack of money, lack of scholarships, and many other actual restrictions play their part in our struggling young profession—I only know that compromises are made. I assume that the war will not lighten these burdens for our students or make it easier for us to help them get the best possible two-year professional education.

To turn to more specific points brought out in the returns: If the differences in the way our schools approach the basic curriculum in the first year are real, the differences at the second-year level are positively startling. A few schools show substantial sequences, especially in case work; a few have required courses, such as history of social work or a research seminar; some have a second year with requirements or recommended sequences tending toward a basic or

generic program; some have field specialization, such as child welfare, probation, medical social work; others, technical but not special field emphasis (e.g., case work, group work, administration); one or two maintain the idea of entirely individualized programs; some give a place to the thesis for two semesters, some for one semester, some for a quarter or two quarters. There seems to be no agreement as to whether a thesis is to be part of research training or whether a professional project or field study is preferable. There seems to be no agreement as to how much time is to be allotted, for in some instances the thesis or project is actually done after the rest of the work is completed—especially when no credit is allowed—while in others considerable time is segregated as against class or field. From all sides I was reassured that a research point of view is a real educational objective. The claims, however, of research, practice, and classroom theory are certainly not generally harmonized.

Field work also shows startling differences. From one school which requires as few as 225 or 250 clock hours in the second year, the time runs to 600, 800, 900, or even more clock hours in others. In those schools with only one semester of two days' field work, the theory seems to be that of orientation; while with those offering three or more days in the field for two semesters or three quarters the objective includes the acquisition of skill.

I am sorry that I did not think to ask in my little questionnaire what the distribution of time was between first and second year. On a sample of several hundred programs in one school, we found that 61 per cent of the first-year time was spent in courses; in the second year 39 per cent, with the rest distributed between field work and a project—the project usually being closely allied with major field-work interest.

While theoretically graduate education in medicine can be oriented either to practice or to research and has not yet made up its mind, realistically social work education is today and must for a long time to come be oriented to practice with, at its best, a research point of view. The question is, I think, at what level and for what ends we are oriented to practice—but more of this later.

Out of these diverse patterns I seem to find one or two under-currents which I should like to bring to the surface for discussion. In

the first place, it is clear that the second year must be planned with relation to the first year, not merely in terms of the individual student's growth, but in curriculum-building as a whole. It will no longer do for second-year curriculums to be a hodgepodge of social work courses not taken in the first year and of miscellaneous courses borrowed from other departments. If the second year becomes a planned curriculum, it will tend to inhibit the spread of orientation courses and to substitute valid sequences. There are many subproblems in this, partly because of the unevenness of the preprofessional curriculums, partly because of so many students (experienced and inexperienced in social work) being mixed together, and partly because our basic courses are not basic enough. If we assume that a psychology major can tackle a stiff graduate course in the labor, economic, or legal aspects of social work, and that an economics major can plunge into psychiatric or medical information courses, it is not clear to me why a group worker has to take an "adapted" case-work course, or a case worker an "adapted" group-work course.

In our present stage of development, I assume some orientation may be necessary, although I think courses in the field of social work probably belong in the preprofessional year, and for obvious reasons material from allied professional fields—e.g., like medical information—must be condensed and adapted for social work purposes, but I confess I cannot understand why we must adapt or dilute our own technical subject matter. If a graduate student should be able to handle primary sources in the library, why on earth cannot he be expected to understand primary techniques and basic philosophy in his own profession? Neither do I see the educational validity of a multiplicity of courses in specific settings. Case work here has naturally the greatest variation. In one school catalogue I counted under the heading "Social Case Work" over twenty titles. In another not very large school fifteen case-work courses were noted. In my own school, which has the reputation of being a case-work school, there are only ten different courses in case work, but our movement has been in the direction of a more generic second year. Case-work majors tend to take a broader selection of courses in social work than they used to be willing to do. This is not merely the inclusion of re-

quired subjects—they seem to want to know about other significant contents in a world of shifting economic and social horizons.

A special problem exists in the presence of both experienced and inexperienced students in the classes. Even if schools should give up politely introducing case work and group work to each other, there is still a choice of parallel beginnings for experienced and inexperienced as over against the experienced person taking the second or third course of the series. I have sometimes thought that if the beginning unit of a series is really basic—that is, a sound introduction to main principles and techniques—the experienced student gets as much out of it as the inexperienced, and after this introduction may select his sequences more in terms of his special equipment and abilities. Which leads me to remark that as soon as you do begin carefully to plan a series, and as duplicating subject matter emerges, telescoping and condensation become possible. However, these series have to be carefully worked out, and one has also to guard against rigidity. Sequences and prerequisites tend to become ritualistic; instructors tend to assume that a student cannot understand and use difficult material until he has been led up to it, which is often pure nonsense. Still, we should be thinking in terms of moving through important contents instead of just piecing them together.

I cannot overemphasize that *planning* educational sequences should not mean that a given student must always *follow* such sequences. Learning is not mere accumulation of knowledge, and never knowledge in one precise order, but is growth in understanding. For professional students, however, growth must be in a given direction. The several aspects of growth—greater assurance with techniques, greater ability to relate one's self with other persons and groups in a socialized development, identifying and forwarding the aims of social work in the larger world—must all be effectively integrated.

What seems clear as a trend is that the schools, when their facilities permit, are developing a core of technical or professional sequences in terms of case work and group work, and no less strongly, though perhaps less clearly, sequences in community organization, social administration, and research. There are still plenty of things to be cleared up before the technical core or substance of the profes-

sional field emerges. The fact that a sequence in social administration is being recognized, not merely one course in "public welfare administration," is in itself challenging. The teaching of this essential core must be the primary focus of instruction. There is already enough professional content in these basic courses and supporting subject matter for a solid and challenging two-year course. The problem in social science, social philosophy, and other professional content, to inform, clarify, and implement this main technical core, while difficult, is not insurmountable; but I believe we can only proceed soundly as we more and more articulate—not in permanent rigid structures, but in living imaginative concepts—the rapidly changing technical problems facing social workers. "Knowledge," to quote Whitehead again, "doesn't keep any better than fish." On the other hand, since there are always more subjects desirable for knowledge than anyone can acquire ("the field grows larger but the plough does not go deeper"), we have to keep pushing steadily toward principles, and these principles must have utility and meaning in practice, including ability to meet new situations as they arise. The *use* of knowledge brings me to field work directly.

Most schools offer more than one field, although it is usually two kinds of case work rather than case work and group work, or case or group work plus administration and community organization. I have already indicated the spread in clock hours and how some schools offer more and some less practice in the second year—the mode being, I believe, toward giving more in the second year. Here the pressure of the national associations—A.A.P.S.W., A.A.M.S.W., F.W.A.A., etc.—begins to be felt both in course and in field content, the A.A.P.S.W. requiring 700 hours of field work in a clinic and corresponding instruction. Whether in class or field, no one interest can be allowed to push out at the expense of all others. Granting that realities of the job would make a certain amount of field-work specialization in the second year justifiable, it still is true that the building-up of our theoretical technical core should in itself make the field work more generic. The student who brings or develops a research point of view, an administrative sense, the habit of thinking in terms of community, into his work with individuals and groups, is the

better practitioner, whether he is operating in a psychiatric clinic or public assistance or a labor organization.

Some questions have been raised as to field-work sequences. While one ought to be able to learn the facts of life—that is, economic and cultural facts, as well as facts about personality and behavior in a medical setting or a child-placing agency—actually the most adequate exposure is likely to occur in a public welfare placement. Add, too, that from practical necessities we find there most of our paid supervisors with large student units, because there the greatest number of cases are steadily available, and you explain the increasing use of public welfare as a beginning placement—but public welfare is just as good a place to finish in, provided we are achieving progressive educational content and sequences and not merely change of scene. It is possible in the second year, in field work as in classes, to take merely what one has not taken before, or one can have planning and direction in new contents as well as clarification of theory, growth, and skill.

Even if one allows the two or more fields to be all in case work, the question of time, point of view, and supervisory strength will determine whether the objectives are chiefly agency orientation or growth and skill. Here all manner of questions emerge. Does the assumption of supervisors paid by the school lead to orientation, and agency supervisors lead to an emphasis on skill? Certainly agency supervisors always pull to increase the length of time in their field from two days to three, from half-years to years. Certainly supervisors, like other people, can teach only what they know, and the practicing supervisor may be assumed to keep ahead of the supervisor whose student load rarely permits him to carry cases or consult with experienced staff members. There is increasing use of young supervisors by the schools, and this must affect practice—sometimes adversely. If one of the things war conditions imposes is using more young supervisors, we must help them develop educational methods, not just allow them to learn by trial and error. For, in the field as in the classroom, practice (treating the case) must be harmonized with teaching from the case and with the aims of understanding the community in which the agency operates. In the “hopeless” case situation, moreover, the student may find the impulse toward research and social action.

Miss Towle⁴ has raised some suggestive points. "Do we," she asks, "agree that classwork should give meaning to field experience and that only sufficient theory should be given as can be assimilated now, or do we bank on the experience of tomorrow to take care of the assimilation of much of the theory given today?" If the trend should become for the second-year students as it has (particularly in public welfare) for the first—namely, young paid supervisors—I think we face a great danger unless these supervisors are to continue in active practice. It has been bad enough that our classroom teachers of technical subjects have, generally speaking, ceased to practice; and if our field teaching is to be done in large units by school supervisors, the quality of work may drop at least as badly as under the old forms of apprentice training.

Recently I attended a conference of field-work supervisors which was very interesting. They were thinking of planned progression—growth and movement as between the first year and the second. They were analyzing what a case-work major would show at the end of his sixth quarter as opposed to his third. The supervisors represented ten different agencies, public and private, sectarian, non-sectarian, medical, family, psychiatric, children's, but the performance criteria they were eliciting—use of theory in skills in interviewing, knowledge of community, use of supervision, use of agency, work habits, etc.—were essentially the same. This seems to prove that the quality of the student's performance today probably reflects less the specific contents of fields, apprentice fashion, than his theoretical equipment, his ability to learn, the quality of supervision, and the level of practice in the agency. In the first year the student is likely to have more awareness of himself as learner; by the second year he should be less self-conscious, is himself more disciplined, and, therefore, freer to acquire and use new disciplines. If these disciplines have the social breadth which I have already described, as well as the clinical aspects, we shall need a particularly competent group of supervisors—but, as we shall have the supervisors we ourselves educate, we can build for ivory towers and hair-splitting theorists or we

⁴ I am indebted to Miss Charlotte Towle, of the School of Social Service Administration, the University of Chicago, for several very stimulating suggestions around the problems of the second-year curriculum.

can build for democratic welfare administration within a socialized economic and political state.

I am sure that we are not looking any longer for bulk of experience, or for variety of experience—we are looking for clarification, testing, and use of theory. However, this theory is no longer that of using case-work theory or group-work theory alone, but social work theory.

There still remains the question of new contents or acquisition of skill as the educational emphasis. The two main streams of educational thought, objective standards (knowledge and acceptance of what Ulich⁵ calls the "transpersonal" aspects of civilization) on the one hand and growth for growth's sake (with aversion to definition of aims—pragmatism "having no dogmas save its own methods") on the other, must interweave in any adequate system of professional education. Otherwise we have either sterile knowledge or "movement which begins to absolutize itself," and therefore is equally sterile.

Since the fact is that we now have more than enough basic content for a solid two-year course in which there is good proportion as among course sequence, professional project, and field work, then our next steps should be in the better planning of sequences in the technical core subjects, with appropriate supporting subject matter.⁶ It is evident that our drift to orientation courses is partly because of our lack of planned substantial sequences for a full second year, and partly due to the lack of control in preprofessional education. I have always wanted our "third year" to look backward and influence the Senior year of preprofessional education on a three-to-three instead of a four-to-two perspective, so as to obviate some of our orientation course waste. Specifically, I mean that undergraduates looking toward social welfare should know something of human behavior, political science, and standards of living before entering professional

⁵ Robert Ulich, *Fundamentals of Democratic Education* (New York: American Book Co., 1940).

⁶ This paper was written in the early winter before we were all deep in war considerations. While I regard the principles in this paper as still valid, I assume that the Association of Schools of Social Work are now giving attention to essential adaptations along sound lines.

school. Even if they do not enter social work, such preparation would serve as a better background for most public administration and "security" jobs than what is usually offered at present.

We still have the question of the small second-year enrolment in two-thirds of our membership. Does the very expensive teaching involved justify itself? Does the actual presence of a second-year curriculum, no matter how meagerly achieved, enrich in subtle ways the quality of the whole, much as it has been assumed that the presence of graduate schools in a university should affect the quality of undergraduate teaching?

If one were to propose that it would be better to have a larger number of strong one-year schools and a smaller number of strong two-year schools, there might be objections—for if there are now few students in their second year at the home school, fewer still would be able to go away. From the point of view of the school receiving the transfer, there is a definite loss of momentum in planning with a student whose work one does not already know—to say nothing of the fact that basic curriculum or no, the schools differ today so greatly in focus, emphasis, and philosophy that for the student the transfer is a wrench.

We must face, however, the question of whether we want to go on accrediting small, new schools, with weak second-year programs, or whether we want to strengthen those we already have. We must ask ourselves how best to attack the state-residence requirements so inimical to the supply of well-educated social workers. We must try to get salary levels in public service as attractive as in the Red Cross. We must try to get the federal and state departments interested in recruiting and drafting professional personnel. Yes, and we must try to get them to give scholarships too. The peace will be meaningless without social security, but we all know we shall have an enormous post-war program with a handful of trained workers. In fact, the shortage is already acute.

I have omitted a great many details, such as whether a "B" grade should be required and whether history courses are better in the second year than in the first. I have not discussed such integrative devices as comprehensive examinations or the many other questions raised. I believe that the most challenging curriculum problems are:

first, the building-up of planned technical course sequences in case work, group work, social administration, community organization, and social research. I need hardly say again that these contents, supported by other less technical contents, must be focused for professional use—and that that means a *much broader correlation of class and field than we have yet faced*. The second problem is to study the proportion of time as among courses, project, and field work and to try to discover what our educational objectives are here and how they interrelate. I believe also that if we think less about “field work for orientation” or “field work for skill” and think more of the students’ continuous growth through field-work experiences broadly conceived as well as technically sound, we shall be headed in the right direction.

Throughout this paper I have taken it for granted that at the graduate level of instruction we assume as little predigestion as possible and that students will have direct access to source material, will be exposed to conflicting points of view, and will themselves have to do most of the assimilation between class theory and field application—insisting always that the theory and practice shall develop in relation to each other. I assume also that we do not want our students to be disciples of any school of thought but that we want them able to think for themselves, relate or distinguish dissimilar contents, and improve their practice through research, consultation, and reading, as well as through competent teaching and supervision. The vision of education remains as it always has been—diversified creative imagination directed toward a fundamental unity of civilization.

HOW FARES THE BATTLE AGAINST PROSTITUTION?

JEAN B. PINNEY

SOcial workers need no argument to convince them that the "racket" of commercialized prostitution is an ugly scar on the national countenance—a dragging ball-and-chain on human progress. This sordid business is seen to be an injustice, since it victimizes one group of human beings for the dollar-profit of others; a subversive element, since it traps and soils our youth and undercuts our family life; and a menace to the public health, since it is a chief means of spreading the dangerous infectious diseases of syphilis and gonorrhea. Because of this latter fact particularly, while prostitution in peacetime is like some treacherous underground stream slowly washing away the solid earth, in times of national crisis like the present, unless firmly curbed, it may become like a raging torrent, damaging the health and morale of our armed forces and of workers in industry to an extent affecting the war's outcome.

The national official and voluntary agencies concerned with the solution of this problem are resolved that these last consequences may be avoided, and they believe that the present outlook is favorable. Current Army and Navy figures on venereal disease infections are most promising in comparison with the alarming peaks which have shot up in the rates for these diseases during some man-power mobilizations in past years.¹ Both departments report less syphilis in 1941 than for any previous year. Gonorrhea infections show a very slight increase. Though state health department records showed forty-five thousand of the first million Selective Service candidates unfit because of syphilis, the United States Public Health

¹ The combined Army rate for all venereal diseases (chiefly syphilis, gonorrhea, and chancroid) for December, 1941, was approximately 39 per thousand men. Syphilis showed 5.7 for 1941, as compared with 7.3 in 1940 and 6.59 in 1939. Army gonorrhea infections show 31 per thousand men in 1941, 30 in 1940, and 30 in 1939. The Navy states that during 1941 the syphilis rate was "lower than at any time during the past forty years." See *Journal of Social Hygiene*, January, 1942, for further details of yearly rates.

Service concludes that this indicates only one in forty-two persons in the general population infected with this disease; and this is considerably better than former estimates of "one in twenty" or "one in ten at some time of life between childhood and old age." The new rapid and simplified treatment of gonorrhea by the sulphonamide drugs is robbing that stubborn and tricky infection of its crippling power. On the front where are being fought out problems of law enforcement regarding prostitution, protection of young people, and rehabilitation of persons victimized by prostitution exploiters, the federal government's new Section on Social Protection reports that the campaign is beginning to show results. The American Social Hygiene Association, taking time out from active combat in all these sectors to view the scene in the light of thirty years' experience, considers that definite advances are being made all along the line.

And all of us are realizing anew that we must fight side by side and shoulder to shoulder, especially where the battle is joined with the powerful and slippery prostitution racketeers.

This, as the newspapers say nowadays, is the "good news."

In the "bad news" column we are compelled to set down many items. It is a shocking thing that in a country like ours forty-five thousand young men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five should suffer from syphilis and many not be under medical care. It is a shameful thing that many of the young women who spread these infections themselves got syphilis as one more incident in a sordid career into which they slipped through lack of home training or of other wise guidance, or lack of a job, or because wholesome good times never came their way. It is an open reproach that, with all the facilities existing to preserve and improve human welfare, so few have been available to help some of these women, including some long in "the business" who would return to decency and health if the way were opened. The worst news of all is that many good citizens, well informed and alert to do their part regarding most community health and welfare problems and eager now to show their patriotism, do not yet understand that here is a great opportunity and a great responsibility; that firm community action can break up the prostitution racket; that many of the personal tragedies due to it may be mended; that "good times in good company" go a long

way toward keeping boys and girls from seeking less desirable kinds of fun and recreation.

If Army and Navy venereal disease rates climb higher, if syphilis and gonorrhea increase among war industrial workers and the general public, if coming months find more young girls recruited to the ranks of organized vice, if, in fact, the hard-won gains of past years are lost, it will be largely because those of us who know the facts have been unable to persuade the general public to listen, understand, and act in their communities to help prevent these catastrophes.

In some cases community and individual failure to tackle the problem of prostitution is due to lack of knowledge concerning the practical means at hand. These are plenty and various, and some of them have been newly streamlined to cope effectively with this emergency.

First in importance are the agencies, official and voluntary—national, regional, state, and local—which are working at the job. They include, among the federal agencies, the War Department; the Navy Department; the United States Public Health Service Division of Venereal Diseases; the Social Protection Section of the Defense Health and Welfare Services; the Department of Justice, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Bureau of Prisons, and certain other bureaus; the Office of Civilian Defense, the United States Children's Bureau, and various other agencies. The national voluntary agencies include the American Social Hygiene Association; the United Service Organizations (Jewish Welfare Board, National Catholic Community Service, National Travelers Aid Association, Salvation Army, Young Men's Christian Association, and Young Women's Christian Association); the American Red Cross; the Army and Navy relief societies; and the large membership groups, church organizations, the men's and women's clubs, the American Legion and its auxiliary, and numerous other patriotic and fraternal organizations.²

Regional, state, and local branches of all these agencies, both offi-

² Some fifty of these national agencies with their state and local branches join regularly in observing National Social Hygiene Day, sponsored by the American Social Hygiene Association in February each year to center interest on social hygiene problems.

cial and voluntary, are in many cases co-operating with excellent results at the state and community level, and usually with the state (or community) defense council as the co-ordinating agent. If this co-operation can become widely effective in this most recent campaign against prostitution, the greatest progress yet made against this evil is possible.

The plan of action among these national agencies is clear, practical, and interlocking.

THE UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT

The Army's program for soldier efficiency, health, and welfare is under the direction of the Personnel Division "G-1" of the General Staff, reporting directly to the Chief of Staff.

Administrative units responsible for carrying out these activities are: the Medical Department, the Morale Branch, the Corps of Chaplains, and the Provost Marshal General.

Welfare and recreation of the troops are promoted by the Morale Branch through a wide program of advisory service, education for self-improvement, athletics, entertainment—aimed at counteracting the antisocial and vicious forces that exploit the soldier, damage his morale, and ruin his health.

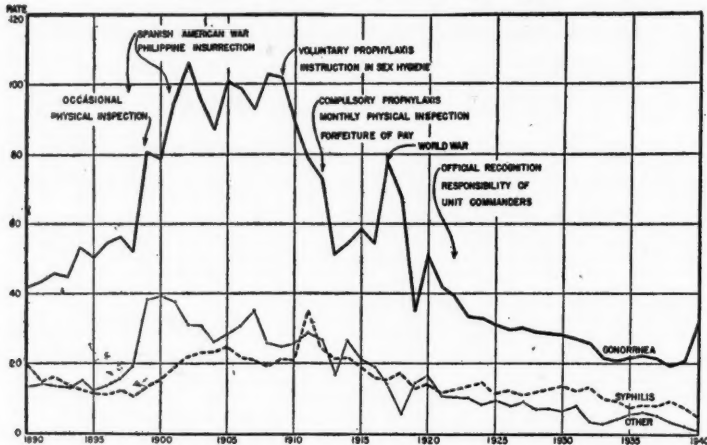
Army chaplains are assigned at the rate of a chaplain to about each twelve hundred men. Six hundred and four newly built chapels provide church homes in which Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish soldiers worship at different times in their own groups.

The office of the Provost Marshal General supervises the training and conduct of the Army's newly established Corps of Military Police, important in maintaining morale and health. A training school recently established at Arlington, Virginia, instructs groups of approximately two hundred officers or enlisted personnel in an eight- to ten-week course, part of which deals with social hygiene problems.

The program for venereal disease control includes: education, case-finding, treatment (both preventive measures and specific therapy), reporting of alleged sources, nursing, disciplinary measures, and participation of medical officers in other phases of the War Department's social hygiene program.

The medical educational program includes instruction for all enlisted men regarding sex hygiene and the prevention and control of venereal diseases, through lectures given in collaboration by the

VENEREAL DISEASE CONTROL IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY
(Annual Rates per 1,000 Strength, 1890-1940)



Army records of venereal diseases begin with 1899, when 115 men per thousand were recorded as infected, and exhibit sharp peaks whenever a national emergency has occurred, until World War I, when a full program of monthly physical inspection, compulsory prophylactic treatment immediately following exposure, forfeiture of pay in case of infection, and responsibility of both line and medical officers was put into effect. This plan resulted in "less venereal disease among American troops than in any other Army in the War." Even in France, where the environmental conditions and difficulties of prophylaxis, inspection, and treatment were greatly increased, General Pershing and his chief medical officer, Major General Ireland, and their officers were able to keep the infections down to a point which justified the appellation, "the cleanest Army in the world." Nevertheless, our soldiers suffered more casualties from syphilis and gonorrhea than from wounds in battle, and lost over seven million days' time by reason of these diseases during the war period of nineteen months. The Army venereal disease rate for all personnel in 1917 was 107 infected men per thousand strength; and in 1918, 90 per thousand. In 1919 it was 61 per thousand. (Chart from Office of the Surgeon General, U. S. Army.)

commanding officer, the medical officer, and the chaplain early in the process of induction and repeated at least twice a year. Specially written pamphlets—*You and the Army* in advance of induction and *Sex Hygiene and Venereal Diseases* following induction—are given

to each recruit. The Army training film "Sex Hygiene," prepared in Hollywood under the auspices of the War Department, is shown regularly at all reception centers. The Army has plans for the expansion of this educational program in the near future.

Case-finding, treatment (both preventive and specific), and nursing follow the most modern medical procedures. Physical inspection, including a careful investigation for the detection of communicable diseases and, if conditions warrant, a monthly special venereal inspection; prophylaxis stations; and materials for individual prophylaxis are regularly available. Individuals found with disease are immediately placed under treatment; infectious cases are hospitalized or held in "working quarantine," as the surgeon may recommend.

Penalties for contracting venereal diseases have been specified by Congress and are applied by the War Department on the basis that the soldier should not be permitted to render himself unfit for service by activities not connected with military duties. In recent years these penalties have been progressively lightened, at present consisting only of (a) court martial at the discretion of the commanding officer for failure to report the existence of the disease; (b) loss of pay during the period of incapacity; and (c) extension of the term of enlistment to make up time lost on account of the disease.

In action, this program is carried out under the immediate direction of commanding officers of the various units, under the general supervision of the commanding generals of the corps areas and departments. The assigned medical staff, the morale officers, and chaplains function under these officers, receiving professional guidance and instructions from their respective department chiefs of service.

In order to meet the new conditions created by the war, a plan similar to that developed during World War I has been recently re-activated. This plan provides for the assignment of a specially trained "venereal disease control officer" to be assistant to the surgeon of each division, each corps area and department, each army headquarters, to General Headquarters, and to each camp of twenty thousand or more troops. These officers are performing designated duties of directing a comprehensive program aimed at reducing the noneffectiveness resulting from venereal disease and are also responsible for development of co-operative relations with civilian agencies

and for the recommendation of such administrative measures as may seem desirable.

NAVY ACTIVITIES

Prevention and control of the venereal diseases is the job of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Division of Preventive Medicine. Like the Army, the Navy endeavors to instruct its personnel by employ of lectures, motion pictures, placards, posters, and other educational means.

For those who are not prevented by education and example from taking chances of exposure to disease, the Navy maintains a well-organized system of prevention and early-treatment facilities. A packet of chemicals with instructions for use are available to men going ashore, and early-treatment stations are an integral part of every liberty party. Every ship, every naval station, every activity from the smallest post to a large naval yard, has its prophylactic station. Wherever the fleet puts into port, a shore patrol is established, the medical members of which devote the greater portion of their time to the maintenance of the patrol's prophylactic stations: on the docks, in the Y.M.C.A., police stations, in all the places where experience has shown the men will tend to congregate. The location of such stations is distributed throughout the fleet in order that all men can take advantage of this protection.

If infection occurs, the man is not punished unless he endeavors to conceal his infection or absents himself without permission while on the treatment list. He does still lose his pay when incapacitated as a result of venereal disease, and he is, of course, if infected, immediately placed under prompt and effective treatment which soon renders him noninfectious and usually able to carry on his usual duties. The Navy has also arranged to appoint medical officers to be charged specially with the prevention and control of venereal disease among the personnel.

Maintenance of morale is under the direction of the Welfare and Recreation Section of the Training Division of the Bureau of Navigation. Athletics, entertainment, music, religious services, and individual education all contribute their part.

The Navy chaplains contribute greatly to morale-building. Navy records show at least 75 per cent of the personnel brought up in a

religious atmosphere at home, and every opportunity is given in the course of the sailor's life for him to continue and strengthen this spiritual guidance.

THE UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The Public Health Service, through its Division of Venereal Diseases, established in 1918 and during the last five years equipped with sizable congressional appropriations, has been making notable progress in stamping out syphilis and bringing gonorrhea under control. The program, carried on in close co-operation with the state departments of health, is aimed directly at preventing, finding, and treating these diseases in the civilian population. On the educational side, a wide variety of methods is used. Motion pictures, pamphlets, leaflets, placards, posters, radio, newspaper releases, and all the known channels of reaching the public mind are utilized with excellent effect.

On the medical side, in addition to grants-in-aid to the states for free drugs and in setting up modern and practical facilities for diagnosis and treatment, the Division constantly conducts, in co-operation with other agencies, research and study projects to improve and perfect existing methods, especially with regard to health education, training of personnel, better laboratory facilities and methods for the diagnosis of syphilis and gonorrhea, and more effective means of treatment of these diseases.

Since the Public Health Service functions under the Federal Security Agency, the field work is set up on a regional basis, special venereal disease control officers being assigned to most of the nine districts. In addition, the staff includes officers assigned as liaison to each army corps area. All these officers and numerous special consultants work closely also with the state venereal disease directors and with civilian groups.

An important part of the Division's work is the recruiting and training of new personnel. Through special courses on venereal disease control provided for graduate physicians and given in co-operation with schools of medicine, fine groups of trained venereal disease experts have been added to the ranks. Training also goes on through the orientation courses given continuously for new public health

personnel at the National Institute of Health in Bethesda, Maryland.

The Division has made available for grants-in-aid to state departments of health for the four years ending June 30, 1941, a total sum of \$13,407,017.53. The states have budgeted \$17,122,264 for the same period. For the year ending June 30, 1942, the Division will expend a total of \$8,750,000, including the regular appropriation of \$6,250,000 plus a supplemental appropriation of \$2,500,000 available for the last three months. Congressional appropriations on at least the same level are hoped for, for the coming year, to meet the increased emergency.

The Division's work is most important at this time in communities around the camps and naval bases, where it has responsibility for aiding in the repression of prostitution.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The Federal Department of Justice, including its Bureau of Investigation, its Bureau of Prisons, and other services, through its district representatives investigates and enforces federal laws with regard to the repression of prostitution and prevention of delinquency and co-operates with state and local law-enforcing authorities.

THE SOCIAL PROTECTION SECTION

Established in March, 1941, by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, the Social Protection Section has put in a busy year planning its program, recruiting and training staff, and getting acquainted with agencies with whom its work is correlated. A major objective of the Section is to promote the enforcement by civilian authorities of existing federal and state laws and local ordinances against prostitution in all military and war-industrial areas. In addition to this responsibility, the Section seeks to prevent girls and young women from being exposed to the lures and enticements of prostitution traffickers; to secure supervision of places of commercial recreation where girls may be in danger of being led into prostitution; similarly to promote the elimination, or at least the safeguarding, of employment where wages are inadequate to meet minimum requirements for food and shelter, or where conditions afford oppor-

tunity to bring pressure on girls to engage in prostitution; and also to encourage every facility for protection of men against being exploited and victimized by the vice racketeers.

Efforts are being made to help those already engaged in prostitution back to ways of life which are constructive. This involves case work and social treatment, which now is largely lacking in many defense area communities.

The Section's staff now includes a headquarters' staff of seven stationed in Washington, eleven regional supervisors, and sixteen field representatives. An advisory committee of some twenty persons experienced in law enforcement and social protection activities is a valuable adjunct to the Section.

Like the Public Health Service, the field staff of the Section is deployed throughout the country with field headquarters at the Federal Security Agency regional office in each of twelve regions.

The Section works largely through existing agencies in the communities—observing, stimulating, and co-ordinating. It does not attempt to work with the man in uniform, it does not deal (directly) with recreational problems, and it looks to the Public Health Service and the medical profession to deal with the venereal disease infections. Its assigned job is "to plan and execute a program for repression of prostitution, protection of young people and care of apprehended prostitutes that will be accepted by the states and become the permanent policy of local government throughout the nation."

The program is carried out mainly by assembling and evaluating information and presenting reports to governors, mayors, prosecuting attorneys, and local law-enforcement officials. The emphasis is on community co-operation and activity.

To carry out this program, the Section's field representatives are instructed to secure:

- i. Factual data from State, local, public and private welfare agencies, law enforcement officers, public health officials, and organized defense councils or committees, relative to prostitution and venereal disease:
 - a) Prevalence of venereal diseases and prostitution in defense area;
 - b) Steps taken by State or local law enforcement bodies for control of venereal disease and prostitution;
 - c) Concerted action that has been or may be taken by agencies, committees, or councils for supporting law enforcement;

- d) Number of clinics, out-patient departments of hospitals providing treatment for venereal diseases, and any data available as to probable sources of infection.
2. Information regarding plans for detention and social treatment of young girls and women charged with prostitution or suspected of or found to be infected with venereal disease:
 - a) Ascertain number of public and private welfare agencies providing temporary shelter for women held on charges of prostitution, or held for health authorities for examination or treatment;
 - b) Ascertain detention facilities in city or county jails available for detention of habitual prostitutes;
 - c) Ascertain from public and private welfare agencies the services that may be given to first offenders, such services to include temporary boarding home care, medical treatment, work opportunities, individual case studies, transportation service for non-resident persons, and planned recreation opportunities.
3. Information concerning control and supervision of employment of young girls and women in cafes, taverns, "honky-tonks," and places of commercial recreation:
 - a) Ascertain working conditions, hours, adherence to age limitations, wages paid;
 - b) Ascertain, insofar as possible, whether girls or women employed in such places are from local communities or are non-residents; if non-residents, what type of board and room arrangements are available to them, cost of such board and room, and approximate cost of expenses incident to the employment. In the difference between wages received and living costs, indicate necessity of supplementary wages by legitimate or illegitimate means.
4. Suggestions of officials and individuals to be interviewed:
 - a) Relative to venereal diseases and prostitution: (1) State and local public health officials; (2) local police departments; (3) policewomen; (4) sheriffs; (5) juvenile courts; (6) appropriate defense council committees or other local committees.
 - b) Relative to detention and medical facilities: (1) public and private welfare agencies; (2) council of social agencies; (3) agencies dealing with opportunities for work; (4) voluntary social hygiene agencies; (5) child welfare division of department of public welfare.
 - c) Relative to supervision and control of employment of women: (1) Woman's division of state industrial commission; (2) U.S. Employment Service—women's division; (3) Y.W.C.A. and other similar organizations; (4) Salvation Army; (5) local committees on housing.

5. Advice about methods of procedure:

- a) Regional level: (1) study all available data on file in Regional Office relative to defense areas; (2) study State laws pertaining to prostitution, venereal disease control, women and children in industry, inspection of working conditions, inspection of places of commercial recreation; (3) conferences with consultants of Federal agencies relative to programs and facilities that might have bearing on problems encountered by the Social Protection Section.
- b) State or local level: (1) interview people at State or local level to learn extent of problem, awareness on part of State or local groups as to the existence of problems and as to community facilities available or required to meet the problem; (2) interview welfare agencies relative to expanding existing programs to meet needs as determined on basis of survey; (3) review of local, State, or Federal facilities that might be utilized by local communities in meeting problem.

6. Information on which to base recommendations for field trips:

- a) Review of vicinity situation on at least three aspects: (1) control of venereal disease and prostitution; (2) medical and social service treatment for young girls and women arrested for prostitution; (3) method of supervision and control of employment of girls and women.
- b) Review accumulated data and outline procedure to be followed in assisting communities in meeting needs;
- c) Similar review and analysis of conditions in other areas designated by Regional Director as in need of assistance in such matters;
- d) Ascertain from all defense areas in the region as rapidly as possible without sacrifice of efficiency the problems existing and possible plans and facilities for controlling or meeting them.

THE VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

The American Social Hygiene Association, as the national voluntary agency in its field, advises, co-operates with, and supplements the work of the federal agencies. For all of them the Association's trained field staff studies and reports on local prostitution conditions and other situations which tend to damage health and to lower morale, while other expert staff members serve as consultants on other phases of work. It interprets federal activities to the public and to other national agencies, stimulating co-operation through their state and local branches and utilizing to the full the aid provided by the hundred and fifty state and local affiliated social hygiene societies and by the Association's ten thousand informed and active members throughout the country. It produces and provides educational and

information materials,³ such as books, pamphlets, leaflets, films, exhibits, and newspaper releases, for use of the various agencies, and it acts as a proving ground for these and other materials. Through the monthly *Journal of Social Hygiene* and the *Social Hygiene News* it regularly informs a cross-section of the general public on new developments and established principles. Through its Committee on

³ The following materials, which are suggested as useful for a community campaign, can be secured through the American Social Hygiene Association, 1790 Broadway, New York City:

Digest of Laws Dealing with Prostitution and Other Sex Offenses, by Gould and Dickerson. A.S.H.A., 1942. Pp. 400. \$5.00.

The following pamphlets are available: *The Case against Prostitution: How a Community May Rid Itself of the Prostitution Evil* (5 cents); *The Federal Fight against Venereal Disease*, by Paul V. McNutt (10 cents); *Laws against Prostitution and Their Use*, by George Gould (10 cents); *May Bill Becomes Law: Text of the New Federal Act* (free on request); *Program of Social Protection Section* (5 cents); *Prostitution and the War*, by Philip Broughton ("Public Affairs Pamphlet," No. 65) (10 cents); *Staff of the Social Protection Section* (5 cents); *We Need Not Tolerate Prostitution*, by Bascom Johnson (10 cents); *Why Let It Burn?* (explaining why a segregated "red-light district" does not help control prostitution) (10 cents).

Charts that are available include: "The Attack on Commercialized Prostitution" (ten charts showing facts about the "racket" of commercialized prostitution and how it may be broken up). 8½×11 (10 cents per set). Poster size, 17×22 (\$1.00 per set); poster size, mounted and colored (\$3.00).

Among films available are: *In Defense of the Nation*, for community leaders, portraying some problems which confront American communities during wartime and how community organization may solve them; and *Plain Facts about Syphilis and Gonorrhea*, for general mixed audiences, both lay and professional, from high-school age up, especially good for industrial workers.

See also the *Journal of Social Hygiene* for a series on "Social Hygiene and National Defense." (Unless otherwise indicated these issues of the *Journal* may be secured from the American Social Hygiene Association for 35 cents each, postpaid.) No. I, "Program of the American Social Hygiene Association and State and Local Activities" (November, 1940); No. II, "A Community Program: A Symposium on Civilian Responsibility" (December, 1940); No. III, "An Industrial Program" (April, 1941); No. IV, "A Youth Program" (May, 1941); No. V, "The Attack on Commercialized Prostitution" (October, 1941) (reprints 25 cents); No. VI, "The Federal Program in Action" (January, 1942); No. VII, "The Program in Action in the States and Communities" (Social Hygiene yearbook number, April-May, 1942) (\$1.00).

Other references include: (Arkansas), *Reports of the Civilian Military Council of Little Rock*; (Louisiana), *Reports of the New Orleans Committee on Recreation for Service Men*; (Massachusetts), *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Society for Social Hygiene*, April, 1942, "Study on Social Protection Problems in Boston"; (New Jersey), *New Jersey Takes Steps To Insure the Welfare of Army Recruits* ("A.S.H.A. Publications," No. A-301) (10 cents).

War Activities, its national office in New York City, its Liaison Office in Washington, and regional offices in Chicago and San Francisco, and through its wide and numerous contacts through field work and correspondence, the Association is constantly in touch with the course of public opinion and ready to direct that course into the proper channels.

The functions of the United Service Organization, the American Red Cross, and the Army and Navy relief societies are so well known generally that no description of program or activities is necessary here, but they should be kept constantly in mind as important forces in achieving social hygiene objectives. The various great national membership organizations—such as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National W.C.T.U., the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and other church groups, youth groups, Kiwanis, Lions, and many others—co-operate regularly, both through national indorsement of the social hygiene program and through activities of their state and community branches. There is hardly an agency—official or voluntary—that is not challenged to be concerned and active in some way in the social hygiene effort. The great endeavor is now to center this enormous potential power upon the pressing prostitution problems arising out of the war emergency.

WEAPONS FOR THE ATTACK

Powerful as are the combined forces of the agencies just described, they could accomplish little in the attack on prostitution without adequate weapons. Fortunately these are ready at hand. First among them are the various agreements and laws which exist in the federal and state machinery.

Federal laws include the Mann Act, enacted in 1910, which prohibits interstate and international traffic in women for the purpose of prostitution, and the Bennet Act, which penalizes importation of aliens for immoral purposes and provides for deportation of aliens engaging in the practice of prostitution.

The most recent federal legislation, adopted in July, 1941, is the May Act (H.R. 2475), which became law on July 11, 1941, to prohibit prostitution within such reasonable distance of military and/or

naval establishments as the secretaries of War and/or Navy shall determine to be needful to the efficiency, health, and welfare of the Army and/or Navy. So far the May Act has been used chiefly as a sword of Damocles dangling over the heads of state and local law-enforcement agencies who do not readily see their way to enforce state laws and local ordinances against prostitution. First application of the law was in twenty-seven counties, largely rural and small-town area, surrounding Camp Forrest, Tennessee, where the governor and state health and law-enforcement officials were finding the problem beyond solution by state or local means. With the approval of these state authorities, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson invoked the May Act on May 20, designating the foregoing area. The results will be of great help in evaluating this federal measure. A similar law in 1917 was generally invoked but had to be used as the basis for prosecutions only a few times during World War I. Nevertheless, it acted as a genuine curb on the trade of prostitution.

Prior to the passage of the May Act, the various federal agencies acted under a joint agreement adopted in May, 1940, as follows:

AN AGREEMENT BY THE WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS, THE
FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY, AND STATE HEALTH DEPART-
MENTS ON MEASURES FOR THE CONTROL OF THE VENEREAL
DISEASES IN AREAS WHERE ARMED FORCES OR NATIONAL
DEFENSE EMPLOYEES ARE CONCENTRATED⁴

It is recognized that the following services should be developed by State and local health and police authorities in cooperation with the Medical Corps of the United States Army, the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the United States Navy, the United States Public Health Service, and interested voluntary organizations:

1. Early diagnosis and adequate treatment by the Army and the Navy of enlisted personnel infected with the venereal diseases.
2. Early diagnosis and treatment of the civilian population by the local health department.
3. When authentic information can be obtained as to the probable source of venereal disease infection of military or naval personnel,⁵ the facts will be reported by medical officers of the Army or Navy to the State or local health authorities as may be required. If additional authentic information is available

⁴ Adopted by the Conference of State and Territorial Health Officers, May 7-13, 1940.

⁵ Familial contacts with naval patients will not be reported.

as to extramarital contacts with diseased military or naval personnel during the communicable stage, this should also be reported.

4. All contacts of enlisted men with infected civilians to be reported to the medical officers in charge of the Army and Navy by the local or State health authorities.

5. Recalcitrant infected persons with communicable syphilis or gonorrhea to be forcibly isolated during the period of communicability; in civilian populations, it is the duty of the local health authorities to obtain the assistance of the local police authorities in enforcing such isolation.

6. Decrease as far as possible the opportunities for contacts with infected persons. The local police department is responsible for the repression of commercialized and clandestine prostitution. The local health departments, the State Health Department, the Public Health Service, the Army, and the Navy will cooperate with the local police authorities in repressing prostitution.

7. An aggressive program of education both among enlisted personnel and the civilian population regarding the dangers of the venereal diseases, the methods for preventing these infections, and the steps which should be taken if a person suspects that he is infected.

8. The local police and health authorities, the State Department of Health, the Public Health Service, the Army, and the Navy desire the assistance of representatives of the American Social Hygiene Association or affiliated social hygiene societies or other voluntary welfare organizations or groups in developing and stimulating public support for the above measures.

Still operating under the agreement and correlating plans for the wise use of the May Act is the recently established Interdepartmental Venereal Disease Committee, reporting directly to the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Federal Security Administrator and comprising two members each from the Army, the Navy, the Federal Security Agency, and one representative each from the Department of Justice and the American Social Hygiene Association.

STATE LAWS AGAINST PROSTITUTION

It comes as a surprise to many otherwise well-informed persons to learn that nearly all states have laws of some type which can be used effectively to curb prostitution and that twenty-two states now have legislation which, if conscientiously enforced, could entirely deprive the prostitution racketeers of their profit and power. Three of these states—Kentucky, Mississippi, and South Carolina—after consulting with the American Social Hygiene Association as to the best

type of law, have recently passed in special legislative sessions new laws which give added strength to the campaign, and other states are contemplating similar revisions of laws not now considered adequate.

Every citizen should know that these laws exist and what ordinances stand in his city government on this subject, and how they may be used to wipe out prostitution in his town.⁶

"HOW FARES THE BATTLE?"

This, then, in summary, describes the main lineup today of personnel and armament in the battle against prostitution.

What has been accomplished to date? And what may we look for in the days ahead?

Perhaps the most illuminating answer is found in the recent response of the forty-eight state governors to the appeals made in letters from Secretary of War Stimson and Secretary of the Navy Knox for co-operation in the repression of prostitution around camps, military bases, and war-industrial areas.

Both officials spoke plainly.

"I hardly need remind you," Secretary Stimson said, "that among these healthy young men of our Army, venereal disease produces more disability than any other single cause, and that among industrial workers it is one of the most serious causes of disability and inefficiency, especially in the boom towns of war industry."

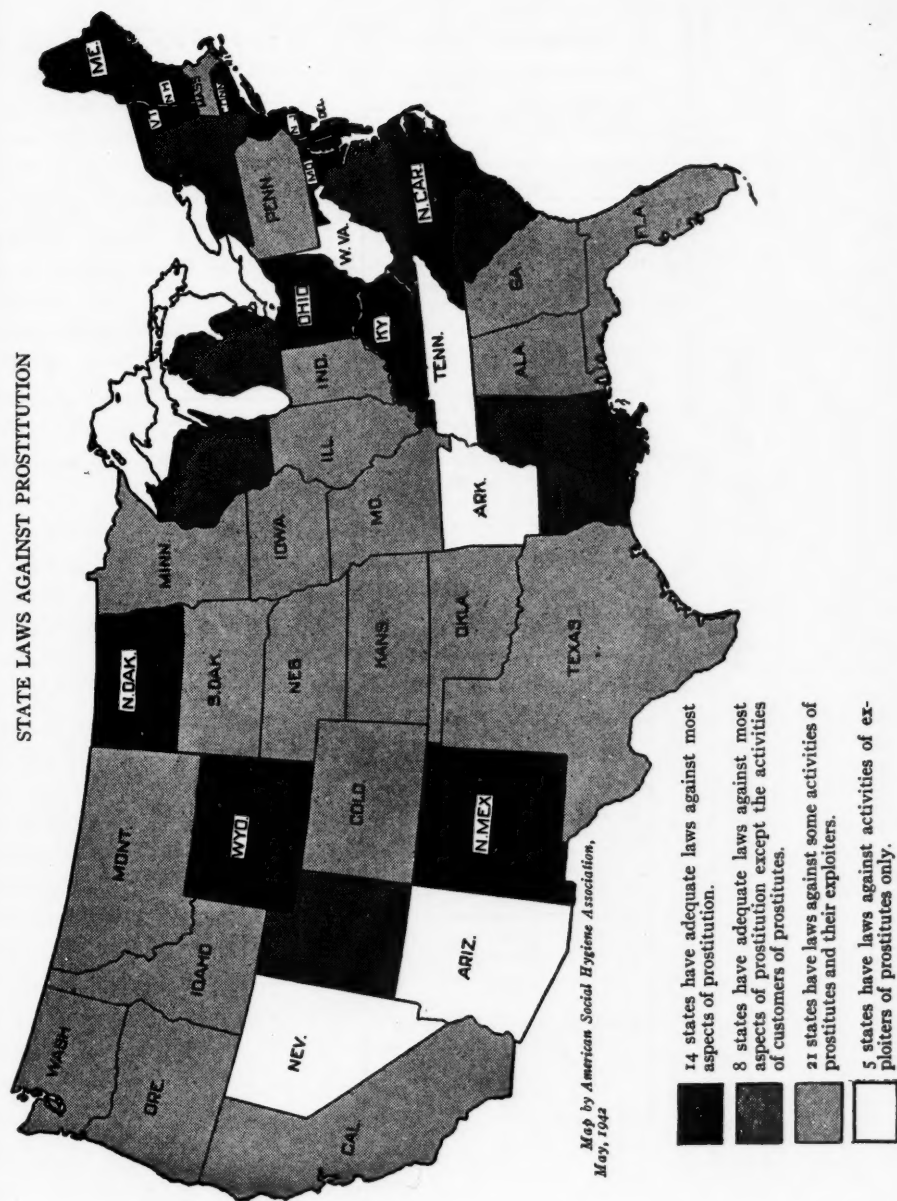
Secretary Knox, saying that "a large proportion of venereal infection of our men comes not only from communities adjacent to naval concentrations but from all over the United States," urged that "you earnestly lend your efforts and those of your state towards support of . . . the Navy's policy of repression of prostitution in any form."

Within a week after these letters had gone out from Washington, practically every governor had replied, promising full co-operation, in many cases stating what steps had already been taken and what results had been obtained and showing an interest, knowledge, and disposition to act that is most encouraging.

In some cases the governors sent in copies of letters already mailed to state and local law-enforcement authorities, requesting prompt

⁶ See *Laws against Prostitution and Their Use*, above, p. 236, n. 3.

STATE LAWS AGAINST PROSTITUTION



STATE LAWS AGAINST PROSTITUTION

[illegible]

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Massachusetts...	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Michigan†	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Minnesota	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Montana	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Nebraska	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Nevada	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
New Hampshire†	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
New Jersey†	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
New Mexico†	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
New York†	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
North Carolina†	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
North Dakota†	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Ohio†	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Oklahoma	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Oregon	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Pennsylvania	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Rhode Island†	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
South Carolina	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
South Dakota	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Tennessee	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Texas	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Utah†	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Vermont†	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Virginia†	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Washington	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
West Virginia	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Wisconsin†	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>
Wyoming†	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>

NOTE: In addition to the State Laws the following Federal Legislation against prostitution exists: The Mann Act prohibits interstate and international traffic in women for prostitution. The Bennett Act penalizes importation of aliens for prostitution and provides for deportation of aliens engaging in prostitution. The May Act prohibits prostitution within such reasonable distance of military and/or naval establishments as the Secretaries of War and/or Navy shall determine to be needful to the efficiency, health, and welfare of the Army and/or Navy.

* —Injunction and Abatement Laws.

† —Vice Repressive Law enacted in its entirety in these states (See Vice Repressive Law, p. 7)

‡ —Major parts of Vice Repressive Law enacted in these states.

✓a —Keepers classified and punishable as vagrants.

✓b —Unlawful to keep a house of ill-fame near schools, churches, or on principal streets of any town.

✓c —Law penalizes houses or places used for prostitution, but not conveyances.

(d) —Offense classified as vagrancy by state law only in New Orleans.

✓e —Law penalizes unlawful and forcible taking female and causing her to be defiled.

✓f —Law penalizes the receiving of money for placing of female in custody of another for purposes of prostitution.

✓g —Law penalizes solicitation by women only for prostitution.

✓h —Courts seem inclined to interpret the word person in the New York law as female.

✓i —Offense is classified and punishable as vagrancy.

✓j —Law penalizes the woman who is a common prostitute as a vagrant or disorderly person.

(k) —House of prostitution is declared a public nuisance and may be abated under the general law of Injunction and Abatement against public nuisances.

action as needed. In other states, at the governor's direction, the state health officer reported in detail on efforts in progress.

From these reports and from the continuous studies of community prostitution conditions made by the American Social Hygiene Association, it is evident that within the past few months a wave of interest and demand for action with regard to this evil is sweeping the country. Communities which have always been on the "good" list are doing even better. Communities which have been rated "fair" in their efforts to repress prostitution may now be listed in the "good" classification. Communities formerly rated "poor" or "bad" are improving.

But this is a battle where the enemy is tricky, persistent, and powerful and where those who seek to conquer can never rest on their arms. Organized vice seems to be retreating for the time being, but this happy state will not continue if the law-enforcement authorities relax their vigilance even momentarily. And it should be constantly kept in mind that clandestine prostitution, which still exists in many of the cities and towns that have closed their so-called "red-light" districts, is responsible for a good many venereal infections. In a recent inquiry into reasons for new infections among soldiers, including camps in all parts of the country, the following causes were found to be responsible for the great majority of infections acquired:

- Infections occurring in civilian life between the time of first examination and time of actual entrance into army service;
- Infections occurring while away from post on long furlough (usually in home community);
- Infections occurring while on week-end leave in large cities, sometimes a hundred or more miles distant from post.

And this brings us back to what was said early in this article concerning community and individual responsibility for such occurrences. The reports of the Army medical officers, confirmed by reports of the field staff of the American Social Hygiene Association and the experience of the staff of the Social Protection Section and the Public Health Service, indicated that

wherever civilian communities visited by the men are actively informing the public about the dangers of syphilis and gonorrhea, providing wholesome recrea-

tion for young people, and repressing prostitution, the Army rates for these diseases are low. Wherever communities fail to maintain essentials of wholesome environment, either for their own young people or the soldiers who spend their off hours there, the venereal disease rates are high.

The report says further:

Army officers are under order from the Secretary of War to encourage and cooperate in every way possible with civilian authorities in repressing prostitution as a reservoir of venereal infection and as a hazard to the future family life of the nation. All Army officers can and should advocate this policy of the Government and offer every possible assistance in applying it; but unless martial law is established they cannot do this alone, except to the limited extent of barring their own soldiers from entering known houses of prostitution, or refusing any leaves to visit the local community. As has often been said, venereal diseases are not acquired in camp, on ship, or at the shop bench. It is up to the communities where off-duty hours are spent to meet this challenge.⁷

American communities and American citizens will not fail in this respect once they understand the facts. It is up to those of us who know the facts so well to hammer them home again and again until everyone knows the truth about the "business" of prostitution and how it may be put "out of business" in his town.

SUMMARY

The campaign against commercialized prostitution in the United States at present is going well. So far as can be learned, increases in venereal disease infections among the armed forces, war industrial workers, or the general population, are up to this time small in comparison with increases shown in previous mobilizations. A stronger combined force is arrayed against the prostitution racketeers than ever before, through informed co-operation of federal, state, and local official law-enforcement and health agencies and the national, state, and community health and welfare agencies. There are not yet adequate personnel and facilities in the communities for protection of young people and for assistance to women, girls, and young men victimized by those who control the racket of prostitution and vicious forms of commercialized amusements related to its practices, but the outlook is encouraging for provision of such facilities. The

⁷ See *Journal of Social Hygiene*, January, 1942.

general public does not yet thoroughly understand its opportunity and its responsibility to help repress prostitution, but it is learning rapidly and may be counted on to do its part.

It is the duty of all who know the facts about prostitution to pass them on to others and urge that all good citizens, here and now, back up their community law-enforcement, health, and welfare officials in smashing this commercialized and sordid "racket" so that it may never again seriously threaten our young people and our national strength.

AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION

CHILD WELFARE SERVICES AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION¹

NORRIS E. CLASS

I

ONE of the outstanding gains in the field of social work during the past decade has been the increased recognition of the need for, and the value of, community organization in the total social work structure. Public as well as private social agencies have made real contributions in this direction. One of these has been the Child Welfare Services as provided for in Title V of the Social Security Act. For the last five years Child Welfare Services personnel have been engaging in community organization activity for various reasons. They have been doing it because the law says that it should be done.² They have been doing it because the United States Children's Bureau has been unfaltering and unceasing in its encouragement to the states to explore and to experiment in the ways and the byways of community organization. They have been doing it simply because law or no law, overt encouragement or not, it was part of the job of rendering a public welfare service to children in areas where no service previously existed.

Now what these Child Welfare Services workers have done and called community organization has varied greatly from state to state, as it has varied from one local area to another within a state. Child welfare advisory committees, state and local, have been organized. Study committees for general problems and for specific problems have been instituted. Community studies of a particular

¹ A paper presented in the Faculty Lecture Series, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, January 12, 1942; as such, it is in no way offered as an authoritative statement but simply as "reflective comments" based upon a particular set of experiences.

² Title V, Part 3, of the Social Security Act reads in part: "The amount so allotted shall be expended for payment of part of the cost of district, county or other local child-welfare services in areas predominantly rural, and for developing state services for the encouragement and assistance of adequate methods of community child-welfare organization in areas predominantly rural and other areas of special need."

section or of a whole area have been carried out. The organization of special projects in preventing dependency and special projects for the treatment of dependency have been devised. There has been participation in community groups—civic, fraternal, and educational—and interpretive activity through the spoken word and through the written word has occurred again and again.

Some of the activity has been successful and some of it has been a failure. The important point, however, is not that success or failure took place in some instances. The important item is that as a group they have contributed to wholesome, intelligent experimentation in community organization generally and to community organization for child welfare specifically. As a result of five years of "doing" community organization under the social security program, there seems to be a little better grasp of some of the principles that are basic to any consideration of community organization; as a result of five years of thinking about community organization, they are at least in a position to speculate upon what might be wise or unwise in the way of next steps; and as a result of thought and action, has come a greater realization of the importance of community organization.

II

To say that something has been learned does not imply that any new or unique discoveries have taken place, or that something has been grasped which heretofore had existed unrevealed to any other individual or group. As a matter of fact, it would seem that the converse is true. What has emerged out of five years' experience in widespread community organizational activities is simply a better appreciation of some of the tentative findings that were expressed in one of the "Reports of Groups Studying the Community Organization Process" when it referred to community organization as being not a separate "field" but simply a "process."³ One might say that it was a "process" in the dictionary meaning of the term: A series of actions usually progressive in nature with the view of producing something. Through their speeches, studies, special projects, that is exactly what they have been attempting to do—to produce something:

³ Robert P. Lane, "Report of Groups Studying the Community Organization Process," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1940*, pp. 456-73.

namely, the release, direction, and integration of community feeling and thinking in a manner that results in the development or establishment of a pattern of community service which achieves greater social well-being.

Also five years of intensive community organization has made for some general delineation of objectives. Certainly it is seen more clearly that, while programs and resources—their development, modification, or interrelationships—are the items with which one must work, they are not the final concern of community organization. They are the material. They serve as a medium of expression but are surely not ends in themselves. Possibly the most important thing which has been learned is simply that the objectives are one or two steps further removed than was initially assumed. Instead of programs and resources, the more ultimate concern must be the cultural pattern and the social feelings residual in the cultural pattern. By doing community organization work, such as proposing a program of foster-care or a method of co-ordinating existing agencies, or suggesting areas in which legislation is needed, one learns much that is involved in each of these activities, but it has also been learned that they do not constitute the final test of effective community organization. It is now perceived that they are good only if the community attitude is good and that they are bad if the community attitude is lacking or indifferent. What has possibly happened in some instances is that the achievement has taken place by “sheer force of the worker’s effort,” and in others it has been learned to one’s distress that the materialization of a program, instead of representing achievement in community organization, may be simply a crystallization of feeling—a terminus of interest. So to this end it would seem that what has really been grasped about community organization is that the test of its validity is not in any program, or interrelationship or co-ordination of programs, but in the presence of a continuing public interest which realizes professional ideals by making possible sound professional practice.

From the speculation as to the objective of community organization, there has also come a hint as to the function of the worker engaged in effecting a community organization process. If the aim of community organization goes beyond programs to the more ultimate

concern of the cultural pattern and fundamental community attitudes, then it goes without saying that resistance will be manifested individually and collectively by the community. To this extent, the function of the worker in community organization will be similar to that of the case worker in that each involves a resolving of a certain amount of conflict and, therefore, the role of the worker is that of serving as a "catalytic" agent. It is not the worker's feelings but the community's feelings which are important and which must be expressed if any genuine organization or reorganization takes place. For this reason it seems most essential that one should not be victimized by successes, which can be the case if one concerns himself too much with programs per se. In fact, what has happened, no doubt, is that in some instances the program has been made to appear too logical, too reasonable, so that the community accepts it with little or no feeling—sort of manna from heaven, or Washington—and proceeds to believe that the job is done. The community stops thinking. It really never started because it never expresses its feelings on these situations. And again one might say that it was not the achievement of the community, just that of the worker.

In short, what has been realized is this: that to change community attitude it is necessary to present facts including programs and projects which in the final analysis become social facts for that community. However, if the facts are to have significance, two things must take place: the community must participate in establishing the facts, and the facts must speak for themselves. Van Wyck Brooks, in discussing a phase of Henry James's literary life, makes this comment: "James himself filled foreground; he stood between the reader and life." Possibly there might be a moral in that statement for those who would practice community organization.

III

The techniques for community organization must then be concerned with the manner in which the social facts are established and presented. They must be such that they give the community as complete and truthful a picture as possible. Generally, there is reason to believe that the efforts have been successful. When there has been failure it would seem that it has been due to a lack of skills in two or

three directions. One of these has been a working knowledge of social statistics. To be sure, it could be assumed that most of the personnel had the regularly prescribed course or courses in statistics or social measurements. In some cases, however, there was a lack of application to community organization or, at least, used as constructively as possible: the statistics having been used in reports more for the purpose of justifying the activity rather than using them as a factor in determining the approach. The second skill which in some instances seems to be conspicuous by its absence, but essential if achievement takes place, is what might be termed "an appreciation of sociological concepts." Some seem to possess, without much regard to particular study, this ability to see relationships and interrelationships of cultural patterns as a whole. In the case of others there has been a tendency of taking one small segment of behavior and removing it from the general setting. This leads to a distortion of understanding of fundamental needs in the community and to possible conflict between various fields of public service. A third skill which has not always been manifested in our community organization has been a "bibliographical" technique. Possibly the reason some community organization was too program-minded is due to the fact that, as community organization workers in contrast to their function as case workers, they have felt the need to give the community their answer to the dependency or delinquency problem, and that this need to tell rather than to find the right answer has been due to a lack of ability in knowing where to look for material that would be helpful in the finding process. As a case worker, one is rather careful not to diagnose, label, and prescribe an arbitrary treatment program. This restraint comes from the knowledge and conviction that individuals differ not only as to inherent structure and social situations, but in their ability to accept help at any given time. Therefore, a resource has not been used until the client has been ready for it. This is indicated by his ability to participate in planning for its utilization. Part of the function of the case worker has been simply to know the resources in order to make them known to the client. Now, in community organization activity, it would seem that there has been failure at times to carry over this approach. One can only wonder if it has been because there was not the certainty

as to the documentary resources covering various programs of care as there was of the treatment resources.

Five years of doing community organization has also brought every worker face to face with the most primary or fundamental question: How does one relate one's self to a locality for the purpose of community organization activity? Certainly as yet there appears to be no magic formula for arriving at a proper answer. Enough activity has taken place, however, to indicate the need for, and the importance of, "community study," although much more consideration must be given as to the specific form of the study. Too often these studies have been simply studies enumerating facts and figures: that *X* county has *A* number of people, *B* number of farms—whatever a farm may be—*C* number of factories, *H* number of persons on relief—whatever that may mean—etc. As such they are simply a process of substituting possibly interesting but still miscellaneous information for knowledge. As such, they completely disregard two vitally important factors in the consideration of any community. First, by failing to synthesize the facts and figures in a dynamic whole, the movement of that community toward an ascendancy or descendancy of social and economic well-being is not determinable. Yet it is this feeling of ascendancy or descendancy which must determine in part the nature of the approach. Second, mere enumeration may completely "miss" what might be termed the "ideological structure of the community"; although in a sense intangible it remains socially operative and resistant even to rather drastic outward political or economic changes. In this connection it might be noted that a rather distinguished, contemporary social philosopher recently wrote: "The diagnosis of any human existence, whether of an individual, a people, or an age, must begin by establishing the repertory of its convictions."⁴

IV

In the performance of this community organization, a beginning has been made in realizing some of the fundamental dangers and some of the fallacies which are inherently present. To be sure, they

⁴ José Ortega y Gasset, *Towards a Philosophy of History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1941), p. 166.

are not sensed as fully as might be desired, but there is an attuning to vague rumblings in the way of dangers. Certainly as a result of experience it is now evident to any who would inquire into the nature of the process: (1) that community organization must continually guard against immediate gains at the expense of long-time objectives (in terms of emotions against the response being one of sentimentalism rather than one of sound sentiment); and (2) that community organization workers must labor long and diligently upon the "who" of community leadership, in the light of the rapidly changing times, rise of pressure groups, and mobility of population—at the same time never losing sight of the "everyday" individual.

Likewise, some of the possible fallacies seem to be making their appearance: not completely but at least to the point of indicating the need of being on guard against deceptive appearances. Foremost among these is that more organization is necessarily "progress." A good illustration of this is a prominent club woman's remark when approached by the worker in a small community to form a child welfare committee, "You know, I attend a meeting practically every afternoon of the week. They are all different organizations, but the same people are there." A second fallacy, and perhaps the more important, relates to the insufficiency of the body of professional knowledge. All too often, because it is possible to determine even at first sight that a given community's approach is wrong, it is assumed that one knows what is right. All too often the community has been permitted to assume that the answers were there ready and waiting to be put into effect. While it is unfortunate that all the answers are not immediately at hand, there is still value in recognizing the wrong approach even though that is as far as one can go. Medical science also lacks the "cures" to many illnesses, but proper diagnosis may prevent the patient from being victimized by quackery and, literally, mistreatment.

V

Realization of dangers and fallacies gives an indication as to "next steps." These steps are ones of review and reflection. First, an intensive examination of past community organization activity should take place. Critical analysis should take place in order to gain some

clue as to why some might be labeled good and others bad. Why did some happen to work and others fail to evoke a response? Only through critical analysis will it be possible to overcome the present stage of simply enthusiastically describing (rather than analyzing) community organization activity. Unless analysis takes place it will continue to remain upon that descriptive plane, and the essential principles which make for effectiveness and efficiency of application will remain incapable of transmission to those who would practice. Second, and a prerequisite if critical analysis is to occur, is the need of giving a considerable amount of attention to the recording of community organization activity. It is not necessary for any one group to say what shall constitute a proper community organization record generally, but it is essential for groups engaged in community organization to have some ideas upon the matter of recording. Moreover, the ideas should not be simply a projection of an existing pattern of recording; for example, case-work activity, without regard to its appropriateness for this particular activity. The approach, like the activity itself, should be experimental. Certainly no one knows as yet the best way to record community organization activity. There seems to be little doubt, however, that it is essential to record community organization in some way. This is essential for administrative reasons. It is even more essential for the professional development of the worker. What is true for case work is also true for community organization: that one does not and cannot determine with any objectivity his thoughts or reactions to any activity in which he has participated without systematic expression or verbalization. Third, after analysis of successes and failures, there is need to become possibly a little more discriminating or selective. It is still desirable that much further experimenting take place, but with a shifting emphasis from quantity to quality. The findings or possibly the "hunches" that have been secured by analysis of the successes should be incorporated into well-thought-out projects and tried out under as favorable conditions for learning as possible.

One other step of an "administrative" nature needs to be taken: the development of an in-service training program related to community organization. Responsibility for these projects should be jointly federal and state, with the schools of social work assisting as

much as possible. The sheer recency of intensive thinking upon the subject of community organization as something more than a systematic enumeration of resources makes it imperative that this be done. Both young and older workers could well profit by becoming more aware as to what thinking has taken place and by discussion of what they themselves are doing or not doing in the way of community organization.

So, through doing and engaging in creative effort, one learns to feel its importance. In fact, it seems unusually important in the particular period of world-history through which we are now passing. In perceiving that the ultimate concern of community organization is with cultural patterns of the community as they relate to helping or hindering individuals realize a greater effectiveness and efficiency in social living, the relationship of community organization to democracy becomes more apparent. The refinement of methodology in community organization can serve as a vitally important "defense measure" by permitting the utilization to a greater extent of the potentialities and energies of all the citizenry in the community. Moreover, we see that the usefulness of a refined methodology of community organization will not end but would only have begun with the ceasing of hostilities. To community organization, then, will come the task of helping to develop what undoubtedly will be a new, a different, and, let us hope, a more peaceful world.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

CONSUMER EXPENDITURES IN THE LOW-INCOME GROUP

MARY SYDNEY BRANCH

THE American people like to make studies and to hold conferences. They often fail to follow them up with action. Thus the recommendations of the 1938 National Health Conference have not been put into full effect. Yet they represent the hard work, intelligence, and rich experience of the nation's leaders in the health field. The National Nutrition Conference held in May, 1941, revealed impressive facts about food: only one American in four gets the kind and quality of food he needs; more than three in ten go hungry. The recommendations made by the conference still await action.¹

The recent Consumer Purchases Study, the most important investigation of living conditions in the United States, should not be likewise neglected. It furnishes information about the way American families spend their incomes, how they are housed, how they feed and clothe themselves, what comforts and luxuries they can afford, how much they are able to save, and to what extent they must go into debt to cover expenditures for necessities. The findings, now made available, should be an inspiration for action in such fields as taxation, social security, consumer protection, and wage adjustments.

To social workers, especially, the Consumer Purchases Study can be of great value. It should help create those attitudes and promote those basic social policies which make the work of their agencies less necessary. Social workers themselves, unfortunately, too often lose sight of such policies. They give their time and strength to clients;

¹ As part of the war effort, increased attention is being directed to the importance of sound nutrition. The activities of private and public agencies to insure better meals for American families are reviewed in *Consumers' Guide* (Consumers' Counsel, Department of Agriculture), May 1, 1942. However, even phases of this minimum program face reduction. There is danger, for instance, that the stamp plan will be curtailed because of lack of appropriations for the Department of Agriculture's surplus-removal program.

they are often identified with the agency they serve. Heavy responsibility limits their active participation in the struggle for improved social and economic conditions. Yet it is true that competent case work is but one phase of their job. At least they cannot be excused from holding those attitudes that promote enlightened public opinion in social relations.

Social workers should be especially interested in measures to improve the economic status of the low-income group. Such improvement may come about in various ways. One method is to raise incomes through minimum-wage legislation and the guaranteed right of collective bargaining. Another method is the assumption by government of some services, such as health, traditionally financed by the family pocketbook. Still a third way is to make incomes go further by seeing that consumers get the most for their money. This may be accomplished by consumer education, by legislative and administrative requirements for informative labeling, by grade marking, and by standardization of products to facilitate the difficult task of market selection.

Fortunately, social workers are particularly well equipped to fight for improvement in living conditions. They can picture squalid homes, tables set with scanty food, neighborhoods which breed delinquency. They know the struggles of families to stretch their small incomes to cover the emergencies of illness. They have seen the results of malnutrition, inadequate heating, and eviction. To them privation and need are not words between the covers of an economics text or the stuff around which a sociological novel, a movie, or a Broadway hit have been built. Statistics about incomes and expenditures are meaningful to social workers because they can bring them to life in terms of the clients they know. More than any other professional group, social workers should be able to take a study of the living conditions of American families and to make it live for the legislators and administrators who formulate social programs and policies.

SCOPE OF CONSUMER PURCHASES STUDY

Studies of family living are not new. However, the large number of these made in different countries within the last generation indi-

icates a rapidly increasing contemporary interest in the measurement of standards, levels, and costs of living.² The recent Consumer Purchases Study provides for the first time in American statistical history an extensive and comparable body of data on the spending habits of major groups of American consumers. The size and inclusiveness of the sample were outstanding. Detailed information on expenditures and savings during a twelve-month period in 1935 and 1936 were secured from more than sixty thousand families that lived in cities of various sizes, in villages, and in rural areas in different parts of the country. In addition, the study tried to ascertain the distribution of families according to income, occupation, and family composition and to determine how families of different incomes, occupations, and types apportion their expenditures among specific goods and services in different parts of the country.³ The Consumer Purchases Study, in short, differs from all its predecessors: it is the first effort to study the incomes and expenditures of all strata in the community. It is not confined, as were other studies, to a limited income and occupational group or to a particular locality. It permits comparisons among sections of the country and among communities varying in their degrees of urbanization as well as among families in different income brackets.

The Consumer Purchases Study was made possible by the co-operation of several agencies. The urban survey was conducted by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The study of small city, village, and farm families was made by the Bureau of Home Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture. These two surveys were administered under a W.P.A. grant. The National Resources Committee and the Central Statistical Board co-operated in drawing up the technical plans and in administering the study.

² See list of recent family living studies in *Methods of Family Living Studies—Income, Expenditure, Consumption* ("International Labour Office Studies and Reports," Ser. N, No. 23 [London, 1940]), by R. M. Woodbury.

³ The collection of data on family expenditures is time consuming and requires considerable skill. Special procedures had to be developed so that the families covered would comprise a representative sample of the population. For example, since income is the most important single factor influencing expenditure, it was necessary to secure a random cross-section, by income, of families to be included in each community.

I. NATIONAL ESTIMATES OF CONSUMER INCOMES
AND EXPENDITURES

The Consumer Purchases Study includes several types of reports. There are those on consumer expenditures in particular areas and communities.⁴ Second, detailed reports cover expenditures in selected regions for specific categories, such as food, housing, and medical care.⁵ Third, the National Resources Planning Board (formerly

⁴ A. Reports issued by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics ("Urban Series"): *Family Income and Expenditure, 1935-36*: Bull. 642, *In Chicago* (2 vols.); Bull. 643, *In New York City* (2 vols.); Bull. 644, *In Nine Cities of the East Central Region* (Columbus, Ohio; Muncie, Ind.; New Castle, Pa.; Springfield, Ill.; Beaver Falls, Pa.; Connellsville, Pa.; Logansport, Ind.; Mattoon, Ill.; Peru, Ind.) (2 vols.); Bull. 645, *In Selected New England Cities*, Vol. I: *Family Income in Five Cities* (Providence, R.I.; Haverhill, Mass.; New Britain, Conn.; Wallingford, Conn.; Willimantic, Conn.), Vol. II: *Family Expenditure in Seven Cities* (Providence, R.I.; Haverhill, Mass.; New Britain, Conn.; Wallingford, Conn.; Willimantic, Conn.; Westbrook, Me.; Greenfield, Mass.); Bull. 646, *In Selected Urban Communities in the West Central, Rocky Mountain Region*, Vol. I: *Family Income* (Omaha, Neb.; Council Bluffs, Iowa; Denver, Colo.; Dubuque, Iowa; Springfield, Mo.; Butte, Mont.; Pueblo, Colo.; Billings, Mont.), Vol. II: *Family Expenditure* (Omaha, Neb.; Council Bluffs, Iowa; Denver, Colo.; Dubuque, Iowa; Springfield, Mo.; Butte, Mont.; Pueblo, Colo.); Bull. 647, *In Selected Southern Cities*, Vol. I: *Family Income in Five Cities* (Atlanta, Ga.; Columbia, S.C.; Mobile, Ala.; Albany, Ga.; Gastonia, N.C.), Vol. II: *Family Expenditure in Three Cities* (Atlanta, Ga.; Columbia, S.C.; Mobile, Ala.); Bull. 649, *In Four Urban Communities of the Pacific Northwest* (Portland, Ore.; Aberdeen-Hoquiam, Wash.; Bellingham, Wash.; Everett, Wash.) (2 vols.).

B. Reports issued by the U.S. Bureau of Home Economics ("Urban and Village Series"): Part I, *Family Income*: Misc. Pub. 339, *Pacific Region*; Misc. Pub. 345, *Plains and Mountain Region*; Misc. Pub. 370, *Middle Atlantic and North Central Region*, and *New England Region*; Misc. Pub. 375, *Southeast Region*; Part II, *Family Expenditures*: Misc. Pub. 396, *Five Regions*.

"Farm Series," Part I, *Family Income*: Misc. Pub. 356, *Pacific Region, and Plains and Mountain Region*; Misc. Pub. 383, *Middle Atlantic and North Central and New England Region*; Misc. Pub. 462, *Southeast Region*; Part II, *Family Expenditures*: Misc. Pub. 465, *Five Regions*.

⁵ A. Reports issued by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics ("Urban Series"): Bull. 648, *Family Expenditures in Selected Cities, 1935-36*, Vol. I: *Housing*; Vol. II: *Food*; Vol. III: *Clothing and Personal Care*; Vol. IV: *Furnishings and Equipment*; Vol. V: *Medical Care*; Vol. VI: *Transportation*; Vol. VII: *Miscellaneous Expenditure: Recreation, Reading, Education, Gifts, and Community Welfare*; Vol. VIII: *Changes in Assets and Liabilities*.

B. Reports issued by the U.S. Bureau of Home Economics ("Urban, Village and Farm Series"): Misc. Pub. 399, *Family Housing and Facilities, Five Regions: Urban, Village, Farm*; Misc. Pub. 402, *Family Expenditures for Medical Care, Five Regions:*

the National Resources Committee) has utilized all the findings to prepare estimates of consumer income and expenditure for the country as a whole.⁶ These estimates are of particular interest. They include 39 million consumer units (29,400,300 families of two or more and 10,058,000 men and women living as lodgers or servants in private homes, rooming-houses, and hotels or maintaining homes of their own as one-person families). These 39 million consumer units make up over 98 per cent of the total United States population. The consumer expenditures of the remaining 2 million consumers—those living in institutional groups—are not comparable to the disbursements of the rest of the population.

During 1935-36, for the period studied, the total volume of income received by these families and individuals was approximately \$59.3 billion. Of this amount, about 85 per cent was spent for current consumption, almost 4 per cent went for gifts and contributions,

Urban, Village, Farm; Misc. Pub. 452, Family Food Consumption and Dietary Levels, Five Regions: Urban and Village; Misc. Pub. 405, Family Food Consumption and Dietary Levels, Five Regions: Farm; Misc. Pub. 415, Family Expenditures for Automobile and Other Transportation, Five Regions: Urban, Village, Farm; Misc. Pub. 432, Family Expenditures for Housing and Household Operation, Five Regions: Urban and Village; Misc. Pub. 457, Family Expenditures for Housing and Household Operation, Five Regions: Farm; Misc. Pub. 422, Family Expenditures for Clothing, Five Regions: Urban and Village; Misc. Pub. 428, Family Expenditures for Clothing, Five Regions: Farm; Misc. Pub. 436, Family Expenditures for Household Furnishings and Equipment, Five Regions: Urban, Village, Farm; Misc. Pub. 456, Family Expenditures for Education, Reading, Recreation, and Tobacco, Five Regions: Urban, Village, Farm; Misc. Pub. 455, Family Expenditures for Personal Care, Gifts, Taxes, and Miscellaneous Items, Five Regions: Urban, Village, Farm; Misc. Pub. 464, Changes in Assets and Liabilities of Families, Five Regions: Urban, Village, Farm.

⁶ These estimates are contained in three reports: *Consumer Incomes in the United States: Their Distribution in 1935-36*; *Consumer Expenditures in the United States, Estimates for 1935-36*; *Family Expenditures in the United States*. The third report is the most detailed analysis yet made of family expenditures in the United States. It includes a breakdown of expenditures into over ninety categories, as well as comparative estimates of farm, rural nonfarm, and urban differences, regional variations, and differences with respect to size of family and as between white and Negro families. It is in two volumes. The first, recently published, contains statistical tables and an appendix discussion of the sources and methods used. The second volume, presenting the text discussion of the findings, is expected from the press sometime in 1942.

The estimates summarized in this article are taken in the main from the second report, *Consumer Expenditures in the United States*.

1½ per cent was paid in income, poll, and minor property taxes, and 10 per cent was saved.

The \$50 billion used for current living expenses covered a wide range of commodities and services. However, the three major consumer wants (food, shelter, and clothing) absorbed over three-fourths of the total outlay for consumption and nearly two-thirds of the total income. Twenty-nine per cent of the total income went for food, 16 per cent for housing, 9 per cent for household operation, and 9 per cent for clothing. When we add to the outlays for housing and household operation the \$1.4 billions spent on furnishings, we find that the total share of shelter in the nation's consumption pattern came to a little over \$16 billion—almost as much as the amount devoted to food.

Automobile expenditures ranked fifth. Almost 6½ per cent of total consumer income was given to the family car and only 1½ per cent to all other modes of transportation. Medical care required slightly less than 4 per cent of income. Recreational expenditures were next in order, amounting to a little over \$1.6 billion. Personal care and tobacco each claimed approximately \$1 billion, and reading somewhat more than half a billion.

Except for a few miscellaneous items accounting for about \$300 million, education showed the smallest outlay on the list—barely over \$500 million, or less than 1 per cent of consumer income. But this amount, spent directly by families and individual consumers, covered only part of the national investment. Public and private schools, in fact, met almost five-sixths of the costs of education during 1935-36. The one-sixth which came from personal incomes went for schoolbooks, supplies, and tuition at private schools.

VARIATION IN SPENDING AND SAVING WITH INCOME

In 1935-36, one-third of the nation's 39 million consumer units had incomes of less than \$780. Another third received between \$780 and \$1,450. The incomes of the top third varied from \$1,450 to over a million dollars. Nearly 15 per cent of all consumer units had incomes between \$1,450 and \$2,000, 11 per cent between \$2,000 and \$3,000, 4½ per cent between \$3,000 and \$5,000, and about 2 per cent

between \$5,000 and \$15,000. Only one-half of 1 per cent of all families and individual consumers had incomes of \$15,000 and over.

The 13 million families and individual consumers with incomes under \$780 spent about \$7 billion on current living expenses, or 14 per cent of the total consumption outlay, amounting to \$550 per consumer unit for the year. For the group as a whole, consumption expenditures exceeded incomes by 17 per cent. With gifts and personal taxes added, total outlay exceeded income by almost 20 per cent. The average income of the group was \$471, the average outlay \$563, leaving an average deficit of \$92.

For the middle third of the nation, current consumption expenditures were almost twice as great as those for the lower third, amounting to nearly \$14 billion, or 28 per cent of the national total. The average consumption expenditure of \$1,056 for the group as a whole came just within the average income of \$1,076. This \$20 leeway was not sufficient to cover the average additional amount of \$39 paid out for gifts and certain personal taxes, so that for this group, also, savings were negative for the year. Thus for the poorer two-thirds of the nation, the incomes received during 1935-36 were too low, on the average, to cover current outlays.

For the upper third of the nation, current outlays were well within current incomes. As a group, these 13 million consumer units with incomes over \$1,450 spent \$29 billion for current consumption, or 58 per cent of the total expenditure, a sum four times as great as that spent by the lower third. This amount absorbed just three-fourths of their total incomes, leaving nearly \$10 billion for savings, gifts, and personal taxes.

The 6 million families and individuals with incomes between \$1,450 and \$2,000 spent more than 90 per cent of their money on current living expenses. At the upper end of the income scale this proportion drops sharply. The 178,000 consumer units with \$15,000 and over devoted less than 40 per cent of their incomes to consumption purposes. The savings of this top group, appreciably greater than their consumption expenditures, amounted to \$2.8 billion, nearly one-half of their total income. If to this we add the savings of the other groups with incomes above \$1,450, we get a volume of

savings amounting to \$7.4 billion, nearly one-fifth of the total income of this upper third. Offsetting these positive savings, however, is the net deficit of \$1.4 billion incurred by the poorest two-thirds of the nation.

As we go up the income scale, then, the proportion of income used for current living expenses gets progressively smaller, making possible a great increase in savings and some increase in gifts and personal taxes. Despite this decline in the relative importance of consumption expenditures, the actual dollar outlays increased rapidly with each advance in income. On the average, per unit, the lower third of the nation spent \$550 for current consumption; those with incomes between \$3,000 and \$5,000 spent \$2,800, more than five times as much; and those with incomes over \$15,000 spent \$12,500, over twenty times as much.

According to the National Resources Committee, these figures suggest that the potential expansion of consumer demand has no discernible limit. American consumers, apparently, will continue indefinitely to increase their total outlays on consumer goods and services as additional increments of purchasing power become available to them.

When we consider the average amounts spent on broad classes of goods and services, we find no evidence of the satiation of consumer wants. Food expenditures show the slowest rate of increase; yet, even in this category, the average expense for the group with incomes of \$15,000 and over is almost nine times as large as that of the group with incomes under \$780. For this poorest third, food costs averaged \$236 for the year—just half the average income. The richest one-half of 1 per cent, at the other extreme, averaged over \$2,000 for food. This sum was only 6 per cent of the income for this top group. In general, food expenditures increase steadily but not proportionately with rising income and hence claim progressively smaller shares of the total income.

The amounts spent for clothing and shelter also fail to keep pace with advancing income, but they expand at a more rapid rate than do expenditures for food. In 1935-36 the lower third of the nation spent, on the average, \$47 for clothing and \$178 for shelter (housing,

household operation, and furnishings), while families and individuals in the top income bracket of \$15,000 or more spent about \$1,800 and \$4,400, respectively.

At all income levels, food, clothing, and shelter together claimed the major share of consumption costs. The lower third spent over four-fifths of its consumption outlay for these essential needs. Three-fifths was the figure for the top income group. In terms of the proportion of income devoted to these categories, however, the two groups are in striking contrast. Almost all the lower third's income—98 per cent of the \$6.2 billions received—was spent for these basic consumer wants, as compared with only 25 per cent of the \$5.8 billion received by the top one-half of 1 per cent of the nation.

Among the other major categories of consumption, automobile, recreational, and educational expenditures mount most rapidly, both absolutely and proportionately, as incomes rise. Automobile expenditures, plus other transportation costs, range from \$27 per consumer unit in the lower third to nearly \$1,900 for the group with incomes of \$15,000 and over, recreational expenses from \$9.00 to nearly \$800, and educational expenses from \$2.00 to more than \$400. Average medical expenses vary from \$20 to over \$700 for the same income groups, and personal-care expenditures from \$12 to about \$200. Tobacco, reading, and other items likewise expand as income advances, but none of these categories accounts for more than 1 or 2 per cent of income or of total consumption expenditure at any income level.

THE CONSUMER MARKET

The wide disparity in purchasing power has an effect on the American consumer market. In terms of total national expenditure, the lower third of the nation shared proportionately in not one of the consumption categories—food, housing, household operation, clothing, automobile, medical care, recreation, furnishings, personal care, tobacco, transportation other than automobile, reading, and education. These 13 million families and individuals accounted for only 18 per cent of the total amount spent on food in 1935-36. They shared even less adequately in other essential categories, making only 16 per cent of the total outlays for housing and 12 per cent of those

for clothing. For personal care they paid 15 per cent of the national total and for medical care 12 per cent. In recreational, educational, and automobile expenses their share dwindled to 7, 6, and 5 per cent, respectively. Families and individuals in the middle third fared somewhat more equitably in the division of the consumer market in 1935-36, but even they failed to attain a full one-third share in the expenditures for any major class of consumption items. During the same period the upper third of consumer units dominated our consumer market and claimed a majority share in every category of current consumption. They accounted for half the total food consumption, for considerably more than half of what was spent for shelter, clothing, and medical and personal care, and from 71 to 77 per cent of the expenditures for recreation, automobiles, and education.

II. FAMILY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE IN CHICAGO, 1935-36

Also of interest to social workers are the more detailed reports on income and expenditures in specific regions and on expenditures for particular commodities. Bulletin 642 of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, which discusses family expenditures in Chicago, will serve to illustrate the type of material available for particular communities. This study includes the distribution of expenditures by category and the average expenditures for family living arranged according to income and occupational groups and family types. It contains in addition detailed accounts of expenditures for food, home maintenance, clothing and personal care, transportation, and minor categories. There are numerous tables, and the appendixes include descriptions of the sampling procedure.

INCOME OF CHICAGO FAMILIES

The median annual income for the 823,000 families in Chicago in 1935-36 is estimated to have been \$1,412. Thus about 400,000 of Chicago's families received \$27 or less per week. This included the families (13.7 per cent of the population) which obtained relief at some time during the year. If the estimate is confined to nonrelief families, the median family income was \$1,579, or \$30 per week. About one-third of the Chicago families (including those on relief) received below \$1,000.

FAMILIES INCLUDED IN CHICAGO EXPENDITURE SURVEY

The survey of family expenditures was limited to nonrelief, native white families, including both husband and wife. All families with incomes under \$500 were excluded from the sample. Furthermore, the collection of data was confined to seven family types.⁷ These types, however, comprised 97 per cent of the families eligible for the survey, so that the omission of the larger families did not materially affect the results. These various limitations resulted in the selection of a sample whose average family income (median \$1,860) was higher than the average for all Chicago families.

EXPENDITURES OF CHICAGO FAMILIES

The information obtained in the survey covered sixteen categories of family expenditure as well as such considerations as the size and facilities of dwellings and the ownership of automobiles and household equipment (e.g., radios, refrigerators, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners). As family incomes increased, so, too, did the number of dollars spent for each important group of goods and services. However, only gifts, contributions, and personal taxes increased proportionately. The average family with an income of \$500-\$750 spent 7 per cent more than their current income for food and home maintenance, whereas their total expenditures exceeded income by 30 per cent. Food and home maintenance accounted for over three-fourths of the total expenditures among families with incomes below \$1,000. Just over half the total expenditure for all income classes except the highest—\$10,000 and over—went for these two items. A brief summary of the outlays for food and housing will be sufficient to indicate the findings of the Chicago survey on all sixteen categories of expenditure.

FOOD EXPENDITURES

All income groups in Chicago spent more for food than for any other item, but the average amounts varied widely: from \$1.00 per

⁷ Families of two (husband and wife), families of three (husband and wife and one child under sixteen), families of four (husband and wife and two children under sixteen), families of three or four (husband and wife and one person over sixteen and one more or no other persons), families of five or six (husband and wife and one child under sixteen and one person over sixteen, and one or two others), families of five or six (husband and wife with three or four children under sixteen), families of seven or eight (husband and wife with one child under sixteen and four or five others).

day in those families with incomes between \$500 and \$750 to almost \$5.00 a day in families with incomes over \$10,000. The increase may be explained by the more generous and probably more adequate diet of high-income families as well as by the increasing importance of luxury-food items consumed outside the home.

While families in the lowest-income group allocated 42 per cent of their total money expenditures for food, they spent, on the average, only 11 cents per meal per person. Families with incomes between \$1,750 and \$2,000 devoted 34 per cent of their total money expenditures to food but spent about 18 or 19 cents per meal per person. In families with incomes over \$10,000, 17 per cent of the total expenses went for food, an average of about 37 cents per meal per person. At succeeding income levels an increase is noticeable in the proportionate amount spent for food consumed away from home. On the lower-income levels such food costs were occasioned chiefly by meals eaten at work and therefore constituted more of an occupational than a recreational expense. Occupational classification, however, has less to do with food expenditures than does family composition. In general, wage-earner families spent more for food, at a given income level, than did families in other occupation groups. However, this higher average food expense was largely the result of family size. The wage-earner group reported a low per capita expense per meal, due, in part, to the small amount spent for food away from home.

Although average dollar expenditures for food were directly related to family size, expense per meal per person varied inversely with family size. This is explained in part by the lower unit costs entailed by the purchase and preparation of food in larger quantities. Also large families probably purchase cheaper foods, and on the lower-income levels they have less adequate diets and spend less on food away from home.

HOUSING EXPENDITURES

Housing represented the second most important category of expenditure among Chicago families. As in the case of food, average disbursements for housing increased with income, though not proportionately. Housing expenses did not represent the total value of housing, since some families occupied their own homes or lived in dwellings provided as a gift or as part of wage payment. Thus the

data on average value of housing provide a better measure of the level of living than do figures on money expenditure. In the \$500-\$750 income group the latter (including fuel, light, and refrigeration) amounted to \$286 and the money value of housing to \$310. In the \$1,750-\$2,000 group these figures were \$465 and \$501, respectively. In the \$10,000 and over income bracket they were \$1,663 and \$1,885.

Expenses for household operation (including household help and services and supplies like laundry and telephone) came to \$26 for families with incomes of \$500-\$750, \$68 for those with incomes of \$1,750-\$2,000, and \$950 for those with incomes over \$10,000. At the lower-income levels these costs were attributable chiefly to laundry and cleaning supplies. Household help took an increasing proportion of total money expenditures at succeeding income levels. Average expenditures for household help amounted to less than \$10 yearly for families with incomes below \$2,000 and to over \$700 for those with incomes over \$10,000. The rise in these expenditures reflects, of course, the increasing proportion of families employing help. While only one in twenty families with incomes below \$2,000 reported household help, one in ten families with incomes over \$7,500 did so.

Families of wage-earners at most income levels had the lowest housing expenditures and money value of housing, as well as the lowest average expenses for household operation. Families in the independent professional category had the highest. Wage-earners ranked high in expenditures for furnishings and equipment, and families in the independent professional category ranked lower. This may be explained partly by the tendency of business and professional families to occupy modern, fully equipped apartments and thus to make fewer substantial purchases like electric refrigerators.

III. EXPENDITURES IN SELECTED COMMUNITIES FOR SPECIFIC COMMODITIES

All the families which furnished expenditure schedules were asked to give detailed data concerning weekly consumption of food, as well as expenditures for other specific items such as clothing, furnishings, and equipment. These supplementary schedules were classified in the same income, family-type, and occupation groups as were the

general expenditure schedules. *Food Expenditures* (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bull. 648, Vol. II) illustrates the type of report of the Consumer Purchases Study, which gives details of expenditure for a particular commodity. This volume presents over 350 pages of tables showing the average value of all family food, the average expenditure for food purchases for consumption at home and away from home, the average value of food received without money expenditure, the average expenditure per meal per food expenditure unit.

Figures on family expenditures at different income levels become much more meaningful if measured against a standard representing what, in the opinion of experts, may be regarded as adequate. At present, we are better able to measure the adequacy of certain purchases, especially those for food, than of others like housing or recreation. We can speak more definitely about the amount and kind of food necessary to maintain an adequate standard than we can about the amount and kind of housing or recreation needed. Yet even in the case of food, information on the minerals and vitamins in many foods is still tentative and may change with advances in science. Knowledge of human food needs is far from complete. However, comparisons of the adequacy of food among different groups of families are significant because the diets of each group can be analyzed in the same way, in the light of our present knowledge about foods.

Data on food expenditures from the Consumer Purchases Study have been analyzed from the viewpoint of adequacy by the United States Bureau of Home Economics. Each family's diet record was compared with standards of adequacy and classified as excellent, good, fair, or poor. Excellent diets were those which met in all respects the specification of a liberal standard set up by nutritionists. Good diets were those which exceeded the minimum standard by at least a 50 per cent margin, but by less than 100 per cent in the case of vitamins. Fair diets met the minimum standard in all respects but exceeded it by less than a 50 per cent margin. Poor diets failed to meet the minimum standard in one or more respects.

Hazel Stiebeling, senior food economist of the Bureau of Home Economics, states in *Are We Well Fed?*⁸ that the nutritive quality of

⁸ U.S. Department of Agriculture, Misc. Pub. 430.

diets in the United States varies greatly. About one-fourth of the families in the country had diets rated good, over a third were rated fair, and another third were classed as poor.

Millions of families fail to secure the foods they need. Those in the low-income groups lack money. Many families lack land, equipment, time, or skill to raise food at home. Many lack the knowledge to enable them to choose foods wisely. Many have poor food habits.

Relatively more of the ill-fed may be found in the lower-income classes than in the higher, more in large families than in small, more in the Southeast than in the North and West, more among Negroes than among white families, and more in cities than on farms.

The farm families spend more money for food than for any other item, although they obtain about two-thirds of their food from their own gardens, orchards, fields, cows, poultry, and livestock. Relatively more farm families have good diets than do urban families, since the former eat larger quantities of protective foods rich in vitamins and minerals (eggs, milk, green leafy vegetables, whole-grain flour and cereal, lean meat). Yet the diets of many farm families need improvement. At least one-fourth of the nonrelief farm families had diets classified as poor.

Differences in family size within a given income level may make for variation in the adequacy of diets. Large families need much higher incomes than small families to maintain comparable diet levels. Northern village families of two (husband and wife) whose incomes in 1935-36 were between \$500 and \$750 spent an average of 11 cents for food per person per meal. Families of three (parents and one child under sixteen) averaged this amount for food only when their incomes reached \$1,000, while families of seven or eight required incomes of \$2,000 to equal the same sum.

As a group, the families of wage-earners are less likely to have good diets than are families of business and professional workers. This, however, is largely due to lower incomes in the wage-earning class. One occupational group seems to be no more skilful than another in selecting nutritious foods. With the same amount of money to spend for the food of each person, wage-earner families were as well fed as were the families of business and professional or clerical workers.

When Negro and white families have the same amount to spend for food, their diets rate good, fair, or poor in about the same proportions. Since Negro families on the whole have lower incomes than white families in the same communities, they tend to have poorer diets.

The relatively larger number of families with poor diets in the Southeast than in the North and West, in spite of the fact that a large percentage of southern people live on farms, reflects the lower incomes of Negroes, sharecroppers, and unskilled workers.

In the low-income groups careful planning and wise marketing are necessary if frugal food allowances are to supply dietary needs. With little planning, diets of families in the higher-income groups are likely to be better than those of families in the lower-income groups. This does not mean, however, that high-priced foods are necessarily more nutritious than low-priced. It does mean that people who do not have to stretch the food dollar too far are more likely to include liberal quantities of protective foods in their diets. However, some forms of protective foods cost more than others, so that it is possible to choose among various types of protective foods when money for food is scarce.

Even without changes in income distribution, the percentage of families with good diets could be increased if all families used their resources to the best advantage. A given expenditure for food may achieve either a good or a poor diet. For instance, among village and city families in the North and West who spent an average of 15 cents a person per meal in 1935-36, 24 per cent secured good diets, 64 per cent fair diets, and 12 per cent poor diets. It is obvious that families need to know how to obtain nutritious meals. According to Miss Stiebeling,

ways of eating in the United States are not the only good food patterns. In the food habits of various countries there are many customs that families in the United States would do well to copy or retain. There are the dark breads and the cheeses of central Europe. There are the tender shoots, the green leaves, and the bean sprouts of the Orient. There are the soups and stews of many lands that use the nutrients of bone and marrow and vegetable juices. Diets often are limited in variety by personal likes and dislikes, by religious scruples, by allergies, or by disease. Even within such limits, good meals can be planned, but it takes more thought and knowledge to make sure that they supply what

the body needs. If orange juice is too expensive a source of vitamin C, it is possible to use canned tomatoes, cabbage salad, or cheap fresh fruits in season. If butter adds too many calories to the diet of overweight persons, they can get vitamin A from the green and yellow vegetables. If for any reason expenditures for meats and poultry must be curtailed, a suitable assortment of fish, eggs and milk may be used instead. If milk and dairy products cannot be eaten because a person is allergic to these foods, it is difficult but not impossible to supply the calcium and other values of milk from other foods. Wise meal planners learn, too, the seasons when different foods are cheapest, the most economical forms in which each food comes, the most economical quantities in which to buy foods. Facts like these make better diets possible for any given sum.⁹

Many families in the low-income groups cannot secure adequate diets even with the most careful planning and astute selection of foods. Increased earnings would provide the most adequate answer to this problem. Some of these families may be aided by opportunities to produce food for home use and by programs like the food-stamp plan and free school lunches. To the extent that the government provides free services, like health, more money will be available for the purchase of food, and thus more adequate diets may be secured. If food prices could be lowered or unwarranted increases prevented, more adequate diets could be secured. For example, increased scope to the antitrust laws to remove bottlenecks from the production and distribution of food would make it possible for consumers to secure food at lower prices.¹⁰

CONCLUSIONS

The Consumer Purchases Study has given us a vast body of facts about the expenditures of American families. It will be unfortunate if this study, like so many others of its kind, turns out to be merely a collection of interesting details about consumer expenditures. We need to look beneath its surface to draw out what is significant. Further work, similar to Miss Stiebeling's comparison of actual expendi-

⁹ U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Are We Well Fed?* (Misc. Pub. 430), p. 24.

¹⁰ Recently the antitrust division of the Department of Justice has been investigating the food industry. It has uncovered schemes to fix bread and grocery prices and to prevent the economical distribution of milk. Indictments have been directed against fruit and vegetable canners, dried-fruit packers, the rice industry, and the sardine industry on charges of price fixing.

tures with standards of adequacy, is needed.¹¹ Such comparisons should be used in formulating social programs and policies in such fields, for instance, as wages, consumer protection and education, housing, taxation, and social security.

The Consumer Purchases Study shows clearly that income is the most significant factor in determining the amount and type of consumer purchases. The small incomes of many American families cannot possibly be stretched sufficiently to insure an adequate standard of consumption. The inescapable necessity for higher incomes must be recognized if one-third of the nation is to maintain an adequate standard. The support of social workers is needed for sound, minimum-wage legislation and for the right of guaranteed collective bargaining through trade-unions, both of which are effective methods of increasing wages.

Social workers recognize other methods than the promotion of higher incomes to improve the economic position of the low-income group. Many of them believe that the government should assume services traditionally financed from the family pocketbook. If, for example, the government could provide a free health service comparable to free public education, families could stretch their meager incomes a little further. For, at present, although some public health facilities exist, patients in the United States pay 80 per cent of the charges made by physicians, nurses, dentists, hospitals, and purveyors of drugs and medicines.¹² A good share of this expenditure could obviously go for better food and housing, given a nationwide governmental health program.

Social workers have given but scant attention to a third method of economic amelioration—that of consumer education and action. Since most consumers have limited incomes to spend, the quality of the articles they purchase is a matter of significance. Yet accurate

¹¹ Volume II of the National Resources Planning Board report on *Family Expenditures in the United States*, available sometime during 1942, will contain an appraisal of the adequacy of consumption.

¹² Interdepartmental Committee To Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, *Report and Recommendations on National Health* (House Doc. No. 120 [76th Cong., 1st sess.]; Washington, D.C., 1939), p. 59.

judgment of quality by consumers is very difficult. Consumers want facts about goods they buy, they want to be able to compare commodities, they want to make intelligent decisions as to which goods best serve their needs. Increasing efforts to protect the consumer and aid him in his difficult task of market selection have resulted in several fruitful methods of improving consumer buying. Among them are the standardization of consumer goods, the testing of products by impartial bureaus, and legal protection and control. It is important that low-income families get the most for their money. It is important that they know where to get specific information about the goods and services they purchase. It is, finally, important that informative labeling be promoted by legislation and sound administrative practice, that grade marking and standardization of products be enforced to facilitate the task of market selection. Social workers have every reason and opportunity to advance these and similar reforms.

Consumer expenditure data should be compared with housing standards to show the extent to which American families are inadequately housed. Recent estimates of the percentage of families inadequately housed in the United States range all the way from one-third to two-thirds, depending upon the standard of housing accepted as adequate. An effective attack on the housing problem needs to be many fold. Families live in substandard houses because their incomes are low, because housing codes are nonexistent or poorly enforced, because building costs are out of line. Higher incomes, subsidized housing, a more widespread government housing program, better regulation of housing standards, development of mass production in housing, the breakdown of monopoly in building material and labor—all of these are important considerations for a comprehensive attack upon the present poor housing conditions.

Tax systems approach justice as they conform to the ability of individuals to pay. It is true that the burden of a specific tax upon individuals is difficult to calculate; yet the Consumer Purchases Study should offer tax administrators additional guidance in determining the ability of low-, middle-, and high-income groups to pay

taxes and in establishing the manner in which they should share the tax burden.¹³

Although it is useless to hope for improved levels of living during a war, it is reasonable to expect that efforts will be made to safeguard minimum living standards. If considerations of equity are to prevail, regressive taxes, falling with heavy burden upon the low-income group, should not be the main reliance of government for funds. However, some economists are now suggesting that undue solicitude for equity in our tax system must give way during the war to considerations of fiscal adequacy and inflation control. It is doubtful if inflation can be controlled by revenue policies alone, by monetary and banking policies alone, or by direct price controls alone. Intelligent and vigorous action is demanded on all fronts with all available instruments. It is unfortunate that many of the current suggestions for preventing inflation, such as proposals for freezing wages, raising excise taxes, imposing a general sales tax, taxing wages and salaries at their source, increasing social security taxes, and lowering tax exemptions, would seriously limit the purchasing power of the masses. The income groups which can least afford to reduce their expenditures for consumer goods would be affected most severely. The higher-income groups could maintain consumer habits by curtailing customary savings, while the lower-income groups, which are not only unable to save but even incur annual net deficits, would be forced to reduce spending for consumer goods. Yet consumer purchasing power must be reduced if inflation is to be prevented. Even the harsh effects of regressive taxes are preferable to the burdens of inflation. However, a reduction in purchasing power may be accomplished either through income or through sales taxation. Since the income tax is our most equitable tax, a good case can be made for enlarging its scope: exemptions may be lowered to subsistence levels and progressive rates increased.

¹³ The Temporary National Economic Committee (*Who Pays the Taxes?* [Mono. 3]), discusses the incidence of taxes on people in various income brackets. The National Resources Committee publications on *Consumer Incomes* and *Consumer Expenditures* were used as a basis for allocating taxes to consumer income brackets. This study gives evidence of the extent to which present taxes curtail the purchasing power of the masses, absorb incomes of the higher brackets, and fall upon consumption and savings.

The test of the reasonableness of any tax system is its final burden on the taxpayer. Although it is difficult to determine the manner in which individuals should share the tax load, the Consumer Purchases Study provides for the first time a substantial body of material which should aid in making an equitable allocation of tax burdens. Data from this study should now be used to fix tax exemptions and to set tax rates.

Certainly the Consumer Purchases Study is compelling testimony to the need for a more comprehensive social insurance program. Incomes which in 1935-36 were too low, on the average, to cover current outlays among two-thirds of the families and individual consumers cannot be expected to meet heavy or emergency expenditures for illness or accident or to provide for old age and unemployment.

Various attempts have been made in the past to determine the amount of income necessary to maintain an adequate American scale of living. Investigators will always disagree, of course, as to what constitutes adequacy. Except in the case of food, we know little about physiological needs, so that in setting up standards for other items in the budget, adequacy is likely to be largely a matter of personal opinion or subjective judgment. And, of course, factors other than physiological needs must be considered in setting up standards—even food standards.

In 1935 the W.P.A. drew up a quantity budget which represented a maintenance level for a manual worker's family of four.¹⁴ After pricing the budget items in fifty-nine cities, they found that the average cost of the maintenance scale for the cities tested was \$1,261, varying from \$1,130 in Mobile, Alabama, to \$1,415 in Washington, D.C.¹⁵ The income estimates of the National Resources Committee¹⁶ clearly show that in 1935-36 the incomes of millions of American families could not have provided this W.P.A. maintenance level of \$1,261. Forty-five per cent of the nonrelief, three- and four-person families received less than \$1,250 in 1935-36.

¹⁴ Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, *Quantity Budgets for Basic Maintenance and Emergency Standards of Living*, Ser. I, No. 21.

¹⁵ *Intercity Differences in Costs of Living, March, 1935: 59 Cities* (W.P.A. Research Mono. XII).

¹⁶ *Consumer Incomes in the United States: Their Distribution in 1935-36*.

Further work on standard budgets may bring closer agreement as to what constitutes an American standard consistent with health and decency. But even though it is now difficult to get comparable figures of actual expenditures and standards, the Consumer Purchases Study makes graphic what all social workers know—that poverty is real enough and that for many American families the content of living in terms of goods and services is shockingly meager. The Consumer Purchases Study should enforce the conviction for social workers and others that our social policy must be guided by our knowledge that millions of American families are unable to purchase the goods and services they need.

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FAMILY VERSUS INDIVIDUAL BUDGETING IN
OLD AGE ASSISTANCE GRANTS
IN WISCONSIN¹

ELWOOD B. DAVIS

THE Federal Social Security Act passed in 1935, providing funds for the purpose of enabling each state to furnish financial assistance to aged needy individuals, brought some interesting problems of administration with regard to the definition and determination of need, and especially the relation between individual and family need. The Social Security Board believes that "need" should be the principal condition of eligibility for assistance, and other eligibility requirements should only be imposed to the extent necessary to define the categories.²

The degree of need of applicants not only constitutes one of the bases for deciding whether applicants are eligible for aid but also presumably establishes the amount of the grant to be made to those found eligible.³ The tool commonly used by all public assistance agencies for measuring the monetary value of the recipient's needs is the budget. The procedure of budgeting involves a broad field of judgment that has presented some of the most perplexing and difficult problems that the state and local agencies administering the public assistance categories have had to meet. In order to insure equitable treatment of applicants in similar circumstances, it is necessary that budgeting be done on an objective basis, and hence standards with respect to requirements and resources must be established.

The definition of need and the establishing of standards and pro-

¹ This article is a condensed part of a larger study. The opinions are, of course, the writer's and have not been officially approved either by the Wisconsin or by the federal social security officials.

² Social Security Board, *Fifth Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1940* (Washington, D.C., 1941), p. 98.

³ John Charnow, *Topics for Research concerning Public Assistance Programs* ("Pamphlet Series," No. 6 [Washington, D.C.: Committee on Social Security, Social Science Research Council, February, 1941]), p. 1.

cedures by which it is determined is a responsibility which the federal government has left largely to the states. The Federal Social Security Act did not define need, but an amendment of 1939 contains the provision that, in determining need, the state agency shall "take into consideration any other income and resources of an individual claiming old-age assistance." The statement, however, still gives the states almost complete discretion in the determination of need. The Wisconsin statute is also not very explicit in defining need. The law provides that the amount of assistance to eligible aged persons "shall be fixed with due regard to the conditions in each case, but in no case shall it be an amount which, when added to the income of the applicant, including income from property . . . shall exceed a total of forty dollars a month."⁴ The only other statement relating to need is that old age assistance shall not be granted or paid to a person if the value of the combined property of husband and wife living together exceeds five thousand dollars.

It is thus apparent that the definition and determination of need has been left largely to the administrative discretion of state and local public assistance agencies. The question arises as to whether, in determining need, the requirements of only the individual recipient can be budgeted, or is it possible to include also the needs of the other members of the family group in which he is living, especially those who are dependent upon him for support? In other words, does an individual's need include the needs of those for whose support he is legally responsible? Individual versus family budgeting is a problem which has as yet received little attention in social-work literature, but it can hardly be said that it has gone equally unrecognized by the practitioners in public assistance who have been struggling earnestly to devise ways and means of meeting the family need in those households where more than one person lives on a grant that is supposedly intended for only one individual.

When O.A.A. recipients are members of family groups, there are various ways in which the budget can be figured for purposes of determining the amount of the grant. Agencies, for example, might figure an individual budget, allowing the standard amount for one

⁴ *Wisconsin Statutes, 1939*, chap. 49.21.

person for such items as clothing, incidentals, and food and allowing his pro rata share of the common household items in which he shares with other members such as rent, fuel, and light. A somewhat more liberal method would be to allow the total cost for these common household items, since they would be necessary for the recipient whether the other members were present in the home or not. Another method is to consider the total family resources and expenditures and to grant either the total family deficit or the recipient's proportionate share thereof. There are many variations in both individual and family budgeting, and it is often difficult to say just where individual budgeting ends and where family budgeting begins. When the individual budget is used, for example, as the justification for the award that is made, it may happen that the applicant had resources which were allowed for the needs of his dependents rather than being deducted from his own budgeted needs. It seems that such a case would border on the realm of family budgeting. On the other hand, when total family needs and resources are considered but only the recipient's pro rata share granted, the method would result in granting individual rather than family needs. Perhaps the confusion would be cleared slightly if an attempt were made to distinguish between "budgeting" and "granting." A budget is a device for estimating the needs of a family and the amount of assistance necessary to meet these needs.⁵ The grant may or may not be equal to the deficit as determined by the computed budget. Thus an agency might use family budgeting but individual granting if it awards only the recipient's pro rata share of the family deficit. On the other hand, the recorded budget may appear to be based on the individual's needs only but be sufficiently liberal in allowing for total cost of the common household items, and perhaps even padded a bit on the personal items, so that the grant made on the basis of this so-called individual budget comes very near to meeting the total family need. The latter is also true when any income of the recipient is allowed for the needs of his dependents before being counted as a resource to cover his own individual requirements.

⁵ Social Security Board, Bureau of Public Assistance, *Family Budgeting for Assistance Grants*, a bulletin prepared by the Division of Policies and Procedures, May 14, 1937. (Processed.)

Apparently most of the states have, as yet, been reluctant to base the O.A.A. grant on a family budget but have instead retained the theory that the grant is made to an individual and hence must be based on the individual's needs only. Apparently the chief reason why the state and local administrative agencies have hesitated to go very far in the way of family budgeting for old age assistance is because the Social Security Board has not been explicit enough in what it would accept or approve in this regard.⁶ The federal auditor was long a bogey in the minds of county administrators. He was looked upon as one whose thoughts and actions were unpredictable and, just to be on the safe side, the directors, who supposedly have the task of saving county funds, refrained from doing that which is not explicitly approved in black and white lest such action be "taken exception to." Although the auditor's function has recently been changed⁷ and the examination of methods of determining need is now done in administrative reviews by members of the field staff of the Bureau of Public Assistance, the attitude of the county staff toward the auditor seems to have carried over to the administrative review staff.

The federal staff, serving in its advisory capacity to states in the administration of public assistance, does not, of course, have direct supervisory or advisory relations with the county departments but instead functions through the state agencies which, in turn, either directly administer the programs or else have supervision of local administration. In Wisconsin, for instance, the State Division of Public Assistance has supervision over local administration rather than direct operation of the public assistance services. In this supervisory capacity the state agency establishes rules and regulations and determines basic policies of administration which the county departments must follow, at least within certain limits, in order to get state and federal reimbursement for their public assistance expenditures. What the state agency says about the problem of family budgeting is, therefore, what is important from the point of view of the county staff, since it is from the state and not the federal

⁶ For further discussion of the Board's statements on budgeting policy see below, pp. 304-7.

⁷ See Social Security Board, *Fifth Annual Report* (1940), p. 96.

agency that they receive their counsel and supervision. The state agency, of course, bases its interpretations upon what it believes would be acceptable to the Federal Board.

At the end of the year 1940, the Wisconsin Division of Public Assistance supplied all county agencies with a "County Manual Series" as an aid in sound administration of public assistance programs. In the section of the "Manual" entitled "Service to Clients," the chapter dealing with the determination of need says with regard to family budgeting:

When an applicant is a member of a family group, actual need can be determined and provided for more equitably on the basis of a family budget than on an individual basis. The maintenance of the family is of primary concern both to the agency and community and the needs of the ineligible members of the family group should be considered in planning for its individual members. Although OAA and BA are individual forms of aid, it is permissible under many conditions to include in the grant of a recipient an allowance for certain common expenses which are a necessary part of the total family budget. These might cover rent or upkeep of the home, fuel and similar essential items. Similarly, when a recipient is an integral part of a family unit, especially of a household dependent upon him, it may be sound to assume that in the best interest of the recipient, the grant should assist in making provision for the welfare of the family as a whole.⁸

This last sentence is phrased in vague terms, with the result that many of the county officials are confused as to its meaning. Some of the county workers have apparently skipped over the sentence without recognizing its significance. Others have pondered over it, trying in vain to understand it. They do not know whether to take a chance on the interpretation that the total family need can be allowed in the O.A.A. grant up to the maximum of forty dollars per month. They admit that this would be by far the most convenient method, but they still query—Would the auditors approve such a method?⁹

Another statement in the "County Manual" which will doubtless have far-reaching effect on budgeting method in O.A.A. in Wisconsin is the following definition of income, which was revised and sent out to the counties in about the middle of May, 1941:

⁸ Division of Public Assistance, Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare, "County Manual Series—Section III" (November 16, 1940), p. 46. (Unpublished.)

⁹ These comments are based upon interviews with the county staffs.

Income for purposes of old age assistance is that portion of an individual's income available to him after providing for support of his legal dependents such as his spouse, minor children or an incapacitated adult child. This policy is based on the principle that the applicant's responsibility for dependents is fundamental and basic to any other consideration.¹⁰

This procedure of allowing income for the needs of the recipient's dependents in accordance with the foregoing policy was earlier mentioned as one way of granting old age assistance to meet family deficits, even though the computed budget which justifies the grant is apparently on an individual basis. Once again one becomes aware of the confusing picture and is challenged by the task of trying to clarify budgeting practices, to such an extent at least as to enable one to analyze and classify the present variations in budgeting methods, to evaluate those methods from the point of view of the welfare of the recipient, and to permit some slight scrutiny of the present legal status of family budgeting.

METHOD AND SCOPE OF STUDY

In this study of the problem of family budgeting, old age assistance records were read in six Wisconsin counties during the month of September, 1941. While the methods of budgeting used in these six counties would not necessarily be representative of those used in the state as a whole, it was hoped that data from these counties would show the variations in methods of budgeting. In three of the counties chosen the social security aids and general relief are administered by the same agency, while in the other three the administration is separate. In the three counties with nonunified agencies, one county has the unit system of relief, that is, one in which the responsibility is being left to the local township, village, or city; one has a county administrative board which works on a per diem basis and employs a director and case-work staff; and the third has three poor law commissioners in the county who take care of all relief. The purpose of the selection of counties on this basis of unified and nonunified agencies was to get some idea of the degree of supplementation of relief in families in which old age assistance is being received from each of these types of county agencies. It was also expected that counties with unified agencies might have a tend-

¹⁰ Wisconsin Division of Public Assistance, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

ency to grant a greater proportion of the family need through old age assistance than those in which the unmet family deficits would be the worry of other public servants.¹¹

In most of the families it was, as would be expected, the husband who was the recipient rather than the wife, and in only a few of the families were there children present in the home. Out of the 102 cases, 89 of the recipients were men and 13 women. Of the 89 where the man was the recipient, 9 had minor children, while none with women recipients had children in the home. Six of the homes with

¹¹In the 6 counties a total of 102 records were studied (17 from each county). Case workers were also interviewed on each case in order to amplify and clarify points on which the records might have been meager or vague. The type of cases used were those in which the household consisted of the recipient and nonreceiving spouse, with or without minor children, but no others present in the home. Thus the members of the family other than the recipient were supposedly dependent upon the latter for support. It was thought that only in families of this composition could one measure the true extent of application of the statement in the "Manual" already discussed, which says that "when a recipient is an integral part of a family unit, especially of a household dependent upon him, it may be sound to assume that in the best interest of the recipient, the grant should assist in making provision for the welfare of the family as a whole." It is not the legal responsibility for support alone that prompted the selection of the sample on this basis, where there is supposedly a dependent family group living with the recipient, but perhaps even more important are the close family ties that would presumably exist in this type of household.

The method of selecting the cases was not exactly the same in all counties, since it was necessary to vary the method to suit the convenience of the county staff at the particular time when the county agency was visited. In general, the case workers selected the cases, having been told only the type of family group desired. In 1 county the file clerk did a large share of the selecting because of the absence of case workers at the particular time when the records were needed. In 2 other counties the director helped select the cases. It is not contended that the records read would yield results that are completely representative of the methods used by the county agency for all types of family groups. For the type of family which was used, however, it is believed that the sample fairly well represents the entire group of these cases in each county, since in most of the counties it seemed that the workers had almost to exhaust their lists in order to get the desired total number of 17 usable records. In at least 3 of the 6 counties the explicit statement was made either by a worker or by a director that no more cases of this type were available. Only in the 2 larger counties did there seem to be a surplus of cases of this type of household over the number used. In these 2 counties records were used of a majority of the case workers, so that even in these it seems that the sample was sufficiently representative of the cases existing there of this type. Thus for the 6 counties studied it can probably be safely assumed that the sample selected is fairly representative of the cases of this composition, even though it is not contended that the 6 counties are representative of the entire state.

children had only 1 child, one had 2, one had 3, and one had 5. The ages of these 16 children ranged from six to twenty years. The twenty-year-old was a boy who was crippled because of infantile paralysis and at the time of the last recording was attending a vocational school part time. There was one household with an eighteen-year-old daughter with a severe case of asthma and hence unable to support herself. As nearly as could be determined, all other children were attending elementary or high school, and in no case was there indication of any substantial contribution to the family income by the children. Thus, even though a few of the children appeared to be of self-supporting age, it seemed that all were dependent upon their parents for support either for health reasons or because of school attendance.

It is interesting to consider for a moment the reasons why the spouse of the recipient was not receiving old age assistance. In all but 20 of the 102 cases she was ineligible because of age. If the spouse was not old enough to receive old age assistance, he or she was counted in this group even though there may have been some other reason why such spouse may not have been eligible or may not have wished to get such assistance when he or she reached the statutory age. In 4 cases the spouse was not a citizen and hence not eligible for old age assistance because of the state requirement of citizenship. In 5 cases the spouse owned either the home or other real estate and thus did not apply, apparently because of the lien provisions of the law. There were 8 cases with sufficient other income in the family to cover his or her needs. One spouse did not apply for assistance because of "pride." Her husband stated that they needed a little more assistance, but he felt that his wife had too much pride to apply, because "it's relief." In 2 cases it was impossible to determine the reason for the spouse not receiving. The wife met the age requirement in each case, but there was no indication of other income to take care of her needs.

It is with these characteristics of the families in mind that we turn to an analysis of the various methods of budgeting used in determining the amount of the old age assistance grants. Whether or not the budgeting procedures result in assistance grants that meet the needs of those being served should be the chief criterion for eval-

uating the methods in use. It is hoped that such an evaluation will be possible from the data presented in the sections which follow.

VARIATIONS IN TYPES OF RECORDED BUDGETS

The 102 records in the 6 Wisconsin counties showed many different methods of computing the budgets upon which the award to the recipient was based. Owing to a lack of uniformity in budgeting methods, it has been difficult to classify them into mutually exclusive categories. It is believed, however, that Table 1 shows a classification that indicates types of budgets that were recorded in the sample of cases included in the study. By the individual budget is meant one that is computed on a 1-0 basis,¹² allowing individual amounts for food and clothing, while the amount for common items such as rent, fuel, and light may have been based on the total family cost, the recipient's proportionate share thereof, or some other figure. The family budgets consist of those which allow the family cost for each of the items, even though in a few cases one or more of the items may have been omitted or less than the standard or total cost allowed for them. This is the type of budget that is considered by the agencies to be 2-0, 2-1, etc., depending upon the number of persons living in the household. As has been pointed out, there is no clear line of distinction between individual and family budgeting methods, but the classification as listed in Table 1 is based upon whether the county agency considers the recorded budget an individual or family type as revealed in the code of 1-0, 2-0, etc., which is practically always included in the record.

Of the five categories of budgets listed in Table 1, the first two might properly be considered individual budgets, since the second category includes cases in which the individual budget was apparently used as the basis for the grant. In these five cases of the second category there seemed to be little if any relationship between the family budget and the grant. In two of the cases a family budget had been used to determine the grant at a time when the spouse

¹² Codes of this type, such as 1-0, 1-1, 2-1, etc., are used by public assistance agencies to designate the number of adults and children living in the household. The number on the left of the hyphen stands for the number of adults and that on the right for the children.

had had regular employment, but at the time of the last investigation the employment had ceased and hence a new and individual budget was computed. In another case a family budget was figured in a farm analysis that was made by the case worker, but the grant was not based on the resulting deficit. One of the five had a family

TABLE 1
TYPE OF RECORDED BUDGET WITH TIME OF
LAST INVESTIGATION

TYPE OF BUDGET	TOTAL	TIME OF LAST INVESTIGATION	
		Prior to 6-1-41	After 6-1-41
Total.....	102	50	52
Individual budget basis of grant....	89	40	49
1. Individual only recorded.....	84	38	46
2. Family budget recorded but grant apparently based on indi- vidual.....	5	2	3
Family budget basis of grant.....	13	10	3
3. Grant based on recipient's pro rata share of deficit.....	1	1	0
4. Family deficit granted up to maximum but an individual budget also recorded equaling family deficit.....	4	3	1
5. Grant based on total family deficit.....	8	6	2

budget that was figured by the director to see if the recipient was still eligible for assistance. Both the recipient and the spouse were being employed at a canning factory at the time of the investigation, and there was a question as to whether their income should not cover their requirements. In the fifth case a family budget was computed to see how nearly the old age assistance grant and general relief that was being received from the local relief department met the total family need. When the number of cases in categories 1 and 2 are combined, we find that there were a total of 89 which had so-called individual budgets, while only 13 were of the family type. In

one of the latter the total family deficit was not granted but only the recipient's proportionate share thereof.

It is interesting that in all 13 of the cases in which the grants were found to be based upon family budgets there was a regular and substantial source of income in the family, so that the net family deficit was in convenient range of the usual size of old age assistance grants. The income in these cases ranged all the way from \$9.00 to \$51, and the grants from \$10 to \$40. Only 1 of the 13 had a grant of \$40, 3 had \$35, 1 had \$25, and the other 8 were all below \$20. It is apparent that there were no cases in which the total family requirements were granted without there being income enough to take care of most of the needs of the members not receiving old age assistance.

From this observation one might gather that what the counties are doing in these cases is allowing the income for the needs of the dependents in accordance with the recommended policy and that they find family budgeting and granting of family deficits a convenient method of carrying out this procedure. One would thus expect to find that family budgets would be found more frequently among those for which the last assistance plan was made after the date when the state agency sent out its definition of income recommending that the recipient's income be first applied to the needs of the dependents. It has been pointed out that the part of the "County Manual Series" concerning this point was revised in the spring of 1941 and was sent to the counties about the middle of May. For this reason, the type of budgets as shown in Table 1 have been divided into those having had the last investigation and assistance plan prior to and after June 1, 1941, which would be about the time that the policy would likely begin to be applied. It is apparent from a glance at Table 1, however, that the conjecture stated above is not true, since there were really more of the family budgets among those last investigated prior to June 1 than after. Only 3 of the 52 budgets last investigated after June 1 had family budgets as the basis for the grant, while 10 of the 50 investigated before that date had such. It thus appears that the new definition of income approved by the state agency had practically no positive effect on the extent

of computing family budgets and granting family deficits, at least up until the time that this study was conducted in September.

Does this mean then that the county agencies were using the new definition of income even before the state's recommendation came out? A closer glance at the form of the income in these families indicates that such is not the case to any great extent, at least in so far as the application of the definition is reflected in the usage of family budgets. The income to which the definition apparently pertains is that of the recipient, since it speaks of "that portion of an individual's income available to him after providing for support for his legal dependents." In a good many of these 13 cases under discussion the main source of income in the family was through the spouse. In only 2 of the 13 was the income entirely that of the recipient. In 4 cases the entire income belonged to the spouse, and in the other 7 both received income. In 5 of the latter over half of the income belonged to the spouse, making a total of 9 out of the 13 cases in which the main source of income was through the spouse. Thus it would appear that the purpose of using family budgets in many of these cases was not so much to allow for the needs of other family members in the grant but for quite the opposite purpose of using part of the income of the spouse to help cover the needs of the recipient. This, of course, is a sound, realistic procedure, since each spouse is responsible for the other, and it is certainly for the welfare of each that the requirements of the other member be supplied; thus it is really the family deficits in these cases that reflect the needs of the recipient. In so many of these cases of old couples one member is incapacitated in some way and often needs the assistance of the other in order to take care of his physical well-being. In practically all of them the social and psychological ties between the two individuals seem to be such that the needs of one can be identified with the needs of the other, and the needs of either cannot be justly and realistically segregated in any way other than as a representation of the needs of the two combined.

Even though family (or 2-o) budgets were not used in the 89 cases in which the grant was based upon individual budgets, there are, as has previously been pointed out, other ways of meeting all or part of the family deficits by the old age assistance grants. Allow-

ing income for the needs of the dependents and attributing the total costs of common household items as expenses of the recipient are among the most frequent of such methods.

TREATMENT OF INCOME IN INDIVIDUAL BUDGETS

It is very difficult to give a detailed analysis of the consideration given to resources in these O.A.A. cases, since in a very large number of them no attempt is made by the worker to determine the amount of income or resources. In some the records merely state that the recipient and spouse pick up a few odd jobs, that the relatives seem to be helping out quite a bit, or that Mr. and Mrs. X have a cow, a few chickens, and raise potatoes, which probably provides them with extra income to cover their expenses. In a few such cases the statement is made that whatever income might be received can be used by the spouse for his or her needs. Many of the workers admitted that they seldom try to determine the amount of income being received by these old age assistance couples, since most of the families do not know themselves how much they are receiving. They know only how much outside assistance is needed each month to tide them along, and in a good many cases this is the amount that is granted.

In order to measure the extent of application of the state's recommended policy on the treatment of income, it was thought that it would be of interest again to break the cases down into those with last investigations and assistance plans prior to and after June 1, 1941, at which time the definition of income was supposedly revised. An attempt has been made to show this breakdown in Table 2 with a classification by type of income and the way in which it was treated in determining the budgetary deficit upon which the grant was based. This table includes only the cases in which the grant was based on a 1-0, or individual, budget, since income has already been discussed in connection with the 13 cases with recorded family budgets. There were 26 of the 89 cases with individual budgets with no apparent income other than garden, hence the reason for only 63 cases being included in the table. Thirteen of these 26 cases apparently did not have even a garden as a supplementary resource.

Since income is such a nebulous element in the records analyzed,

it would be futile to try to classify the cases by the exact amount of income received and by the definite proportion of such income that may have been deducted in determining the budgetary deficits. It

TABLE 2

TREATMENT OF INCOME IN INDIVIDUAL BUDGETS BY TYPE OF INCOME

TYPE OF INCOME	TOTAL	DEDUCTION OF INCOME FROM BUDGET IN DETERMINING GRANT				
		All De- ducted	Partial Deduction		No De- duction	No Direct Deduction but Evidence of In- direct*
			Remainder Not Cov- ering Deficit	Remainder Covering Deficit		
Last investigated prior to 6-1-41: Total.....	30	4	1	1	20	4
Regular cash income of re- cipient.....	8	4	.....	1	2	1
Irregular cash income of recipient.....	6	.....	.....	.....	6	.....
Income in kind.....	4	.....	.....	.....	4	.....
Aid from relatives.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Income of spouse.....	8	.....	.....	.....	5	3
Combination of types.....	3	.....	1	.....	2	.....
Last investigated after 6-1-41: Total.....	33	8	2	2	20	1
Regular cash income of re- cipient.....	8	4	.....	2	2	.....
Irregular cash income of recipient.....	10	2	.....	.....	8	.....
Income in kind.....	5	.....	.....	.....	5	.....
Aid from relatives.....	2	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Income of spouse.....	3	.....	.....	.....	2	1
Combination of types.....	5	1	2	.....	2	.....

* Apparent that one or more items reduced or omitted because of income.

was possible, however, from information given in the records and from conferences with the case workers, to classify income as shown in Table 2 by regular or irregular cash income of recipient; income of spouse, regardless of regularity; aid from relatives; income in kind, exclusive of garden for own use; and cases with a combination of

these types. The table shows that 8 of the 63 cases had a combination of the 5 main classes of income.¹³

Table 2 indicates that the time of last investigation and assistance plan had practically no effect on allowing income for the support of dependents, just as was found to be true in the utilization of family budgets. Of the 30 cases with last plans prior to June 1, 1941, 5 had either total or partial deductions of income from the recipient's individual budget, with inadequate allowance for the needs of dependents. Also of the 4 cases where the allowance for some of the items was reduced or omitted because of income, there were 2 in which the needs of the spouse were inadequately cared for. Thus there were 7 out of 30, or nearly one-fourth of the cases, in which the income might have been more liberally allowed for the needs of the dependents. Of the 33 cases with last investigations after June 1, 10, or almost a third, had total or partial deductions of income which might have been more liberally allowed for the support of dependents. These results, as well as the close correspondence between those investigated before and after June 1 in the number of cases with no deductions of income, would seem to indicate that the counties were just as liberal in allowing income for the support of the dependents prior to the time the state agency recommended the use of income in this manner as they have been since the time of initiating such recommendation.

By analyzing more closely the 40 cases in which there was income but no deductions made, it is found that there were probably 19 cases in which there was income belonging to the recipient that was presumably allowed for the needs of the dependents. Adding to this number the 3 cases in which the income was deducted only after the requirements of the dependents were adequately cared for, it is found that the income in a total of 22 cases was treated in such a way as to be in accord with the policy recommended by the state agency

¹³ Cases were counted in this class only if there were more than one type that was of a substantial amount. If one of the 5 main types of income in a case was predominant with only a small insignificant amount of one of the other types, the case was classified and counted according to the dominant one. As will be observed from the table, these various types of income were grouped according to whether any deduction was made in determining the budgetary deficit and, if only part were deducted, by whether the undeducted part was enough to cover the dependents' requirements.

on the definition of income. Ten of these were last investigated prior to June 1, 1941, and 12 after. Compared with this figure there were, as has been stated, 17 cases, 7 of which were last investigated prior to June 1 and 10 after, in which there were total or partial deductions of income which might have been more liberally allowed for the support of the dependents.

Allowing the income for support of the dependents in the 22 cases does not mean, of course, that the grant of old age assistance necessarily meets the family deficit. A survey of these cases indicates that in only 5 of the 22 was the deficit entirely met. Of the remaining 17, in only 1 case was the maximum of \$40 granted, while in 5 others the arbitrary \$30 maximum of some of the county agencies was granted.¹⁴ Hence it can hardly be said that complete family budgeting was used in these 22 cases merely because the recipient's income was allowed for the dependents. Only by figuring a total family budget and granting the deficit could the agency be sure that the family's requirements are being provided.

ALLOWANCES FOR TOTAL COST OF COMMON ITEMS

The method apparently used by many states in allowing for part of the needs of dependents of the recipient who live with him in the same household is to figure the total cost of common expenses such as rent, fuel, and light in the recipient's budget. Such procedure is justified on the grounds that the recipient shares in the benefits from these expenditures, and the expenses would be necessary whether there were other members in the home or not. As a case worker put it in one county, "Although we do not allow for the support of the nonreceiving spouse in the recipient's grant, we try to sneak her in here and there through granting total cost of the expenses common to both."

In its interpretations and recommendations to the states, the Social Security Board apparently approves this procedure of allowing the cost of common household expenses, provided the maintenance of such household is necessary for the welfare of the recipient. But

¹⁴ In 3 of the 6 counties the maximum old age assistance ever granted is \$30, except for special medical needs, while in the other 3 no maximum is set below the \$40 federal and state maximum.

it is difficult to think of a situation when this would not be for his welfare, especially when he lives in his own home and in the type of family group which has been included in this study. The state agency makes a similar recommendation to the counties regarding this procedure of allocating the common household operation expenses as needs of the recipient.¹⁵

For the items that are generally looked upon as being common—rent, heating fuel, cooking fuel, light, and water—the six counties were found to be quite liberal in allowing the total cost. Table 3 shows the extent of application of this method of budgeting. In this

TABLE 3
ALLOWANCES FOR COMMON ITEMS WHEN
INDIVIDUAL BUDGET USED

Total	89
Total allowance for shelter, heating fuel, cooking fuel, and light.....	66
Partial allowance for 1 common item, total for others.....	4
Partial allowance for 2 or more common items..	4
No allowance for 1 common item, part or total allowance for others.....	8
No allowance for 2 or more common items.....	7

table cases are classified as having partial or no allowance for one or more common item only when there was an actual expenditure for that item by the family. For example, if fuel were cut "for own use," with no expense for cutting and sawing, and hence no allowance made in the budget, the case was not counted as having no allowance for this item, since there was no actual cost to the family. Similarly, in many cases there was no water expenditure, and hence these cases were not counted as having no allowance for this item.

In 66, or about three-fourths of the cases with individual budgets, the total cost of common items was figured in the recipient's budget. In the 23 cases where total cost was not allowed for these items, there were many different reasons why such was apparently not done. In 9 of the 23 there was other income which would supposedly cover the balance of these costs, but in only 4 of these 9 cases was

¹⁵ See above citation on page 282.

the income sufficient to cover the entire family deficit. In 3 cases the county maximum of \$30 was reached without including the total cost, and hence only partial allowance was made for rent. In 6 cases the wife owned the home, and for this reason no shelter allowance was made, since some of the counties have a policy not to make an allowance when the spouse owns the home, the assumption being that the spouse refrains from applying for aid because of the lien

TABLE 4
EXTENT OF COMPUTING TOTAL FAMILY COSTS FOR
EACH OF THE COMMON ITEMS IN CASES WITH
INDIVIDUAL BUDGETS

ITEM	ALLOWANCE MADE IN BUDGET			
	Total Cost	Less Than Total Cost	No Allowance*	No Expenditure†
Shelter allowance.....	70	3	12	4
Rent.....	38	.....	3	2
Home-ownership allowance.....	32	3	9	2
Heating fuel.....	73	5	6	5
Cooking fuel.....	83	1	5	.....
Light.....	79	2	8	0
Water.....	18	2	3	66

* Includes cases in which the family had an expenditure for the items but no allowance in budget.

† Includes cases in which there was no allowance for the items because of no expenditure to the family.

law. In the other 5 cases there was no apparent reason why the total costs for the common items were not allowed. It might possibly have been that figuring only part of such costs was one way of holding the total budget down to what the worker thought the family needed.

Table 4 presents in a slightly different form the allowances made for the common items, since it shows the number of cases with total, partial, or no allowance for each item individually rather than as a group. Shelter allowance, as will be observed, is the item with most frequent deduction, there being a total of 15 with partial or no allowance. The 9 cases where no allowance was made for home-

ownership were all cases in which the recipient's spouse owned the home.

It is clear from data in Tables 3 and 4 that, in general, the counties have quite extensively used the method of allowing the total cost of common items in the recipient's budget as one way of meeting part of the needs of the recipient's dependents. A closer survey of the 23 cases where total costs were not allowed shows that in 12 of these more than the recipient's proportionate share of these costs was allowed in his budget. Of the 11 cases where the recipient's pro rata or less was figured, 2 cases had sufficient income to meet the family deficit after the old age assistance grant was deducted from the total requirements. Thus in only 9, or about 10 per cent, of the cases with individual budgets was there not some degree of attempt through this procedure to meet the needs of those in the household not receiving old age assistance.

OTHER METHODS OF MEETING FAMILY REQUIREMENTS BY OLD AGE ASSISTANCE GRANTS

In a few of the 89 cases with individual budgets there were attempts to include the needs of the spouse in the grant through methods other than those which have been discussed. This situation is not surprising when counties are supposedly giving assistance to only one member of a family but find that other members of the household also share in such aid. When county agencies are not given the legal "go" signal by the state and federal staffs to budget the total needs of dependents along with those of the recipient and to grant the entire deficit, there is no other course for them than to use these indirect means of meeting family needs when they are trying to give all families a minimum subsistence standard of living. This is especially true in counties where general relief funds are inadequate or in those where relief is administered under a separate agency, and hence the social security aid agency has no control over relief supplementation in families receiving O.A.A.

There were 4 cases in which medical expense of the spouse was included in the grant of the recipient, 3 in which the cost was \$10 and 1, \$15. Three of the 4 cases were all found in a county in which there is a combined administration of relief and the social security

aids. The grant in all 3 cases was \$30, which is the maximum ever granted by this county. The county also has a standing rule that relief and old age assistance are never to be granted in the same household, except when there is extreme medical expense which cannot be included in the O.A.A. grant because of the maximum limitation.

An interesting method used in a case in one county to help cover the spouse's needs was to make an allowance for nursing care, although this procedure was changed at the time of the last investigation because of a new source of income. The recipient was a bed patient and needed constant nursing care by his wife, hence \$16 was allowed in the budget for medicine and nursing care. It is not known just how much of this \$16 was for medicine and how much for nursing care, but at least an attempt was made to take care of part of the wife's expenses through this nursing-care item. This seems to be a typical case in which it was for the welfare of the recipient that a provision be made in his grant for the expenses of his spouse, since her presence in the home was essential to the well-being of the recipient in question. This is also an example of the limitation that the \$40 maximum places on meeting the total needs of the recipient and his dependents, since the family budget was figured to be \$25 higher than the maximum after the recipient began receiving regular income.

A final method used by the county agencies in budgeting and granting more than the recipient's proportionate share of family needs was to include a straight 1-0 food allowance rather than the recipient's pro rata share of the family quota. A 1-0 allowance on the standard budget recommended by the state agency is \$10 (\$9.00 for groceries and \$1.00 for milk), while for a 2-0 budget it is \$15.50 (\$13.65 for groceries and \$1.85 for milk). The reason for a 2-0 being less than twice a 1-0 is, of course, because of supposed economy in larger buying and preparation. If a strictly individual food allowance were made for these recipients who live with family groups, the amount would be his pro rata share of the family quota, which would be \$7.75 in a 2-0 family. Such a procedure might be called one of family budgeting of food but individual granting. Apparently this is the method of determining food allowances

that is recommended by the state and federal agencies. The county agencies did not follow this procedure, however, in the cases included in this study. Of the 89 cases with individual budgets, 1 allowed \$8.00 for food; 18, \$9.00; 53, \$10; 14, \$11; and 3, \$12. Thus in all cases the food allowance was higher than the recipient's pro rata share of the family quota, and in 70 cases, or nearly four-fifths of the total, the standard or higher for an individual living alone was allowed. In general, the case workers explained that their reason for using this more liberal method was because they were aware that other members of the household were sharing in the old age assistance grant that was supposedly intended for one person.

We have seen extreme variations in methods of budgeting and determining the size of the O.A.A. grant in these six Wisconsin counties, ranging all the way from strictly individual to comprehensive family methods and (although space has not permitted a discussion of arbitrary methods of determining the grant in this paper) from somewhat arbitrary to careful objective practices, with all sorts of mutations in between. The variations seem to bear out the truth of the statement made by more than one county worker or director that "you can do anything you want with a budget." It must be admitted that in many families the resources are so nebulous, especially among those living on farms, that it appears futile to try to make an objective evaluation of them. Careful adherence to standard practices, however, in attempting to evaluate both the requirements and the resources of clients, would seem in the long run to result in more realistic recognition of individual need and more equitable treatment of recipients in similar circumstances. What is important, of course, from the point of view of the welfare of the recipient is how well these methods are resulting in the meeting of needs, and, if old age assistance is not meeting the entire need, whether or not other resources are available to him for doing so.

UNMET FAMILY DEFICITS AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BUDGETING PROCEDURES IN RELATION TO THEM

Although family budgets were recorded in only a small proportion of the cases included in the study, the writer figured complete family budgets on all the cases, applying the standards and methods

that would have been used by the particular county on each case. Since total family income must be considered in determining family deficits, it would be necessary to know the amount of all sources of income to get the exact deficit, but this a good many of the records did not show. It was likewise seldom possible to get estimates from the workers as to the amount of income received when such was not recorded. It was possible, however, to get the workers' viewpoints on whether or not they believed the family deficits, after old age

TABLE 5
THE MEETING OF FAMILY DEFICITS BY
NONRELIEF SOURCES

Family Deficit* after O.A.A. Deducted	Total	Totally Met by Income	Partially Met by Income	No In- come
Total.....	102	35	41	26†
\$ 5 and less than \$10...	32	11	9	12
10 and less than 15...	23	5	10	8
15 and less than 20...	14	3	7	4
20 and less than 25...	12	7	3	2
25 and less than 30...	6	1	5	.....
30 and less than 35...	8	4	4	.....
35 and less than 40...	2	2	.....	.....
40 and less than 45...	2	1	1	.....
45 and over.....	3	1	2	.....

* Deficit as used here refers to the budgetary deficit after only the old age assistance grant is deducted, with no deduction for income.

† Thirteen of these 26 cases had garden for own use but no known income.

assistance was deducted, were being met by private income and/or general relief. Those met by private income are shown in Table 5. If these figures are at all in error, it is believed that they in no way overstate the number of cases in which deficits were not totally met, since it appeared that the workers might have been slightly protective of their agencies in how adequately they were meeting families' needs.

Table 5 shows that there was insufficient income to meet the total family deficit in about two-thirds of the cases. Eleven of the 41 cases classified as being partially met by private income had unmet deficits of less than \$5.00. This leaves a total of 56 out of the 102 cases, or slightly over one-half, in which there were deficits of \$5.00

or more which were apparently not met by either private resources or by old age assistance. Of this number, 3 had the maximum grant of \$40, and 12 had \$30 grants in the counties where this was the maximum ever granted. Thus in a total of 15 out of the 102 cases the \$40 federal maximum or the arbitrary \$30 maximum of the county agencies would handicap family budgeting of assistance grants even if this type of budgeting were used more extensively. This would leave a total of 41 cases in which there were unmet deficits of \$5.00 or more in which there was room for more liberal budgeting on a family basis without being restricted by the maximum grant used by the 6 counties.

Of the 35 cases shown in Table 5 in which deficits were totally met, 10 had family budgets. Of the other 3 cases in the study with family budgets as the basis for the grant, 1 had less than a \$5 deficit and 2 more than \$5.00. In one of the latter 2 the \$40 maximum was granted, while the other was the case mentioned in an earlier section in which a family budget was used but only the recipient's pro rata share was granted. It would be expected that the cases with family budgets would be found largely among those with little or no unmet deficits, since family budgets naturally take into consideration total family requirements and resources.

If more adequate data were available on the families' incomes, it would be interesting to examine the difference in actual size of budgetary deficits when computed by these two methods. Such a comparison would also seem to necessitate using typical individual and family budgets computed by uniform standard practices. The comparison as shown in Table 5, however, is between individual budgets, in whichever way the counties happened to figure them, and family budgets figured by a uniform method based on standard procedures. The variations in methods of computing individual budgets were found to be so great, not only between counties but also within the same county, that it would be almost futile to try to say what is a typical individual budget. Family budgets, on the other hand, are almost universally computed in a uniform manner by determining the family deficit on the basis of total family requirements *minus* resources. This uniformity factor in itself is a strong point in favor of using family budgeting, since it tends toward more uniform,

equitable treatment of recipients in similar circumstances. The most serious variation in family budgeting is perpetrated when the total family deficit is not granted to the recipient or when the remaining deficit after old age assistance is deducted is not provided by supplementary relief.

SUPPLEMENTATION BY GENERAL RELIEF

The extent of supplementation by general relief is shown in Table 6 for those cases where there were found to be deficits not wholly met by private income or old age assistance. It will be noted

TABLE 6
EXTENT OF SUPPLEMENTATION WITH GENERAL
RELIEF IN CASES WITH NET DEFICITS
NOT MET BY NONRELIEF SOURCES

EXTENT OF RELIEF	TOTAL	TYPE OF AGENCY*	
		Combined	Noncombined
Total.....	67	33	34
Relief meeting total deficit.....	10	6	4
Relief partially meeting deficit.....	7	4	3
No relief.....	50	23	27

* Combined agency refers to those 3 counties where relief and social security aids are administered by the same agency, while in the noncombined each is administered separately.

that in only 17 of the 67 cases with deficits was there supplementary relief provided, in 10 of which relief met the total deficit. Of the 7 in which relief met part of the deficit, there were 5 cases with net deficits of \$5.00 or more even after relief was subtracted. Table 7 gives in summary form the number of cases with deficits of \$5.00 or more that remained after all resources were counted, relief and non-relief. It is shown that 44 cases have such deficits.

Table 6 shows that there is very little difference between the extent of relief supplementation by the combined and noncombined agencies, but the total number of 17 relief-receiving cases is perhaps too small to justify any conclusions. Especially in those counties

where there are combined agencies, the total family need should probably be taken into consideration, and, if the budgeting policy does not permit granting the total deficit through old age assistance funds or if the maximum restricts such grants, then general relief should be granted to the extent of the remaining deficit. This procedure should be followed uniformly, since public assistance agencies are established to meet the needs of the people. In only 1 of the 3 counties with combined agencies, however, was relief granted auto-

TABLE 7
NET NUMBER OF DEFICITS MET OR UNMET BY
TYPE OF BUDGET

WHETHER DEFICIT MET	TOTAL	TYPE OF BUDGET	
		Individual	Family
Total	102	89	13
Grant <i>plus</i> other receipts approximately equal to family budget*	58	46	12
Grant <i>plus</i> other receipts probably less than family budget by \$5 or more	44	43	1

* Includes cases where grant *plus* other receipts is less than \$5.00 below family budget. This \$5.00 leeway allows for other possible receipts about which there was no information.

matically on the basis of there being family needs that were not met by the O.A.A. grant. Eight of the 17 cases receiving relief were found in this one county.

The deficits of \$5.00, which remain in 44 of the 102 cases, are an unmet need large enough to warrant consideration by the public assistance agencies. Either more liberal budgeting methods, with larger grants of old age assistance, should be used, or else the families should have more extensive supplementation by general relief. It would be preferable, of course, that old age assistance be used to the greatest extent possible because of the attitude of recipients and the general public toward this type of aid as compared to relief, since there is, in general, less stigma attached to the receiving of old age assistance than of relief. The need for and the advantage of

using family budgeting and of granting family deficits can hardly be questioned on the basis of the facts presented in Tables 5, 6, and 7. About the legality of figuring family budgets, there seems to be little doubt in the minds of the local officials who administer the public assistance programs. When it comes to granting the total family deficit by old age assistance, however, the local officials are very uncertain as to their legal boundaries. Their feeling of responsibility for conserving local funds apparently restricts them from carrying out their co-ordinate responsibility of meeting total family needs among those who are eligible for assistance.

That is, there is apparently need for more adequate assistance in these families where two or more people are living on an amount of assistance supposedly intended for one, even though in the determination of the grants attempts were made to allow for part of the needs of other members of the household within the limits of an individual budget. Most of the local officials seem to agree that family budgeting and granting of family deficits would be the most convenient method of supplying these unmet needs, but, as has been pointed out, the question of the legality of supplying family needs through old age assistance grants has clearly restricted its use.

STATE BUDGETING POLICY

Reference should be made again to the statements in the "County Manual," first, that the county agencies may allow the total cost of common items in the recipient's O.A.A. grant, as well as allowing income for the needs of the dependents before it be deducted from the budgeted requirements of the recipient; and, second, the statement that "when a recipient is an integral part of a family unit, especially of a household dependent upon him, it may be sound to assume that in the best interest of the recipient, the grant should assist in making provision for the welfare of the family as a whole." The county workers and directors apparently are not clear about the intent of this last statement. In a meeting of the field staff of the Wisconsin Division of Public Assistance, in October, 1941, the question was raised as to whether this sentence should be construed to mean that provision may be made in the allowance of an O.A.A. of B.A. recipient for dependents, including the ineligible spouse and

minor children. In answer to the query it was agreed that "family budgeting is the most satisfactory way of caring for recipients of public assistance and is in line with the thinking of the Social Security Board. However, it cannot be made mandatory."¹⁶

Apparently the statement in the "Manual" regarding the grant assisting in "making provision for the welfare of the family as a whole" is intended to be merely an enabling policy for the counties, leaving the basic decision as to the extent of its application to the discretion of the county agencies. The policy of including the total cost of common items in the recipient's O.A.A. grant, on the other hand, and that of deducting income only after the dependents are cared for are apparently intended as recommended practice and should be uniformly applied where the conditions of the family situation so warrant.

FEDERAL POLICY

When a federal field-auditing staff of the Social Security Board inspected the practices of county agencies with regard to the eligibility of recipients and the determination of need, they had the authority to take exception to any grants not strictly in accordance with the letter of federal law, and such grants were not matched by federal funds.¹⁷ These auditors became men to be feared, and the county agencies were quite cautious in trying to keep their practices in line with what they thought the auditors would accept. The administrative review now carried on by members of the field staff of the Bureau of Public Assistance to examine the determination of need as a substitute for the examination by the federal auditors is done on a sampling basis rather than on complete coverage of cases, and, if practices are found which are not in line with the Social Security Board's policies and its interpretations of the Federal Act, the reviewing staff is apparently in a position to recommend that the Board take exception to the grants in those cases where such practices are used. Thus, even though it is from the state agency that the counties receive their direct supervision in the administration of the public assistance categories, there is also some reason for them to be concerned about what the federal staff is thinking, since the

¹⁶ *Minutes of Staff Meeting*, p. 33.

¹⁷ See above, p. 281.

latter could, if it were found necessary to take exception to certain methods of determining need, strike a serious blow to the meager budgets of the county agencies.

A statement adopted by the Board in July, 1941, states in general what is acceptable budgeting procedure, although there remain some points of uncertainty in the extent to which the family needs can be met by old age assistance. The statement was not sent to the states in written form but was merely to be used as a guide to the staff of the Bureau of Public Assistance in the review of state plan material and in consultation with state agencies. According to a member of the Bureau staff, the statement which follows does not represent a change in policy of the Board but merely a crystallization of interpretations which have been evolving for several months:

Titles I, IV and X of the Social Security Act provide that the Federal Government will match assistance payments to needy individuals made by the States under plans approved by the Social Security Board. In approving such plans, the Board recognizes that the States should have reasonable latitude in establishing policies with respect to the determination of need.

Under the public-assistance provisions of the Social Security Act, the condition of need must be found to exist with respect to the individual applicant, and the award based upon such determination should be made to insure the security and well-being of the applicant. However, under certain circumstances, individual need may comprehend requirements that also serve the welfare of other individuals in the household.

The Board has not, for example, questioned payments which covered common household expenses if the maintenance of such household was necessary to the welfare of the recipient. The Board expects to continue this policy. Such payments, however, should not be extended to cover the additional needs of other members of the household unless the presence of such members is essential to the well-being of the recipient in question.¹⁸

From these statements it would appear that the Board approves including the total cost of common items in the recipient's grant, but, in order to go beyond this, there apparently must be special circumstances in the family relationships wherein the presence of other members in the household is essential to the recipient's well-being. The determination of when the latter applies would seem to

¹⁸ Social Security Board, Bureau of Public Assistance, "Guide to Public Assistance Administration" (unpublished "Bureau Circular No. 9," Part II (April 18, 1938)), page date 8/9/41, p. 271.

depend a great deal upon the worker's philosophy of family relationships and her professional evaluation of the extent to which the needs of other members of the household could be identified with those of the recipient. A member of the staff of the Bureau of Public Assistance pointed out, for instance, that in cases where the recipient is physically unable to take care of himself, nursing care by the spouse or other member of the family might be "essential to the well-being of the recipient in question."

Whether or not any service other than nursing care could be rendered by the nonreceiving members of the family in order to make their presence in the home essential to the recipient's well-being is not clear. What about the wife who serves as housekeeper, for instance—would her presence be essential to insure the security and well-being of the recipient? The Board has stated that it is the purpose of the Social Security Act to provide for needy individuals in their homes. If the recipient were unable to cook or unable to keep house, he would hardly be able to live in his own home unless someone were present to do his cooking and to keep his house in order. It would seem that in this type of family, where an aged couple lives together but only one is eligible for old age assistance, the needs of each can hardly be segregated, since their patterns of living are so interwoven that the presence of each is almost certain to be for the welfare and best interests of the other.

The truth of this statement is even more clear when one considers the feeling of responsibility on the part of the recipient for the support of those who are dependent upon him. He recognizes this not only as a legal but also as a moral and social responsibility. It is interesting that one applicant included in this study, when told that O.A.A. could be allowed only for his own requirements, asked the worker if he was supposed to shoot his wife. A realistic definition of individual need would almost seem to include as part of such need one's legal and moral responsibilities.

Finally, it is not clear just what the Board would or would not accept in the way of family budgeting. Its statement that "the States should have reasonable latitude in establishing policies with respect to the determination of need" perhaps indicates that it is

willing to permit the states to do a certain amount of experimenting in this aspect of their work. The basis for this belief is strengthened by the Board's statement in its memorandums concerning interpretation of policy to the states "that the combined recommendations are intended to have a liberalizing effect upon the determination of individual need of applicants and to enable States to clarify procedures in the interest of the welfare of the applicant."¹⁹

CONCLUSION

The need for and the advantage of using family budgeting and the granting of family deficits can hardly be questioned on the basis of the large number of cases included in this study found to have unmet deficits. County agencies are left somewhat confused, however, as to how liberal they can be in budgeting and granting total family need in this type of household where all members not receiving O.A.A. are supposedly dependent upon the recipient. They query as to the legality of budgeting and granting the personal items of dependents of the recipient such as food, clothing, and personal incidentals just as they are allowed to grant the common household items. In those counties where there is combined administration of relief and social security aids, one can only ask in turn—What have they to lose? These agencies are responsible anyway to meet total family need by supplementary relief, and, if exceptions were taken to that part of the O.A.A. grant found extra-legal by the federal staff, the counties' expenditures would be no greater than if they had not used these unacceptable budgeting and granting procedures. In these counties it would seem that the most commendable budgetary procedure would be to figure family budgets on all cases of the type included in this study, and, if the total family deficit could not reasonably be defined as needs of the recipient, then the remainder should be met by general relief.

In counties where there is separate administration of relief and social security aids, the meeting of total family need in those cases where the entire family deficit cannot be properly included in the O.A.A. grant would depend upon effective interagency co-operation

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

between the two public assistance authorities. It must be recognized, of course, that, in general, the standards of practice in the local relief agencies are far behind those administering social security aids, and hence the latter are greatly restricted in their efforts to meet total family needs when they are unable to procure for the families adequate relief supplementation. As a solution for this predicament, the most realistic approach, not only from the point of view of efficient administration but also for the best interests of public assistance recipients, would be the clarification of federal and state legislation in order to remove the doubt about the legality of meeting total financial needs of the dependents of the recipient in his old age assistance grant, thus making relief supplementation unnecessary. Others would contend that a move nearly as desirable would be the establishment of completely unified county agencies for the administration of all public assistance programs, thus making it possible for the agencies automatically to meet family deficits, after old age assistance is deducted, by general relief. In the small number of counties included in this study, however, we have seen that the unified agencies have been doing little, if any, more in the way of relief supplementation than have the nonunified. Until we get such changes in legislation or administrative structure, it will be necessary for the agencies administering old age assistance to meet all the family deficit possible by this category of funds when there is reasonable certainty that no other aid will be provided. The tendency in these agencies to give a liberal interpretation to the phrase, "unless the presence of such members is essential to the well-being of the recipient," would be understandable. When such interpretation is not possible, it can only be hoped that the agency will compute family budgets to determine the total deficit, include all this deficit possible in the old age assistance grant as the recipient's individual requirements, including total cost of common items, and then attempt to get the co-operation of the general relief authority to give supplementary aid to the extent of the remaining deficit.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

THE SPRING CONFERENCES

THE two important spring conferences, the Pan-American Child Congress, which assembled at Washington, D.C., and the National Conference of Social Work, which was in session at New Orleans the following week, were in a sense competitive as far as American social workers were concerned, since few of us could attend both meetings. The Pan-American Child Congress was held under dramatic circumstances in a wartime capital and with a developing spirit of friendship and united action among the North and South American republics. The Congress with representatives of the twenty-one republics (unfortunately Canada is not included) was colorful, as an international congress is expected to be, with a great reception given by our State Department in the beautiful Pan-American Building, where the meetings were held. But, like other international congresses, it was almost too formal, and there were the usual translation difficulties. A few of our group, like Katharine Lenroot of the United States Children's Bureau, can speak Spanish fluently, but Miss Lenroot's easy command of Spanish was very exceptional. Everyone felt that it was a year for special concern about the welfare of children, and it is reassuring to have Pan-American solidarity on this important subject. Proceedings of the Conference will be published later in both Spanish and English, and in the meantime the United States Children's Bureau has prepared a mimeographed summary for distribution.

The National Conference of Social Work, meeting at New Orleans, had not been south since the Memphis meeting of unhappy memory in 1928. The decision to go south had been questioned last year, but, when the Conference voted to go to New Orleans, the members accepted it; and in spite of wartime difficulties it was a larger conference than is usually expected when the Conference goes to a city that is not centrally located. Mr. Shelby Harrison guided the Conference successfully; and, although the War Department had taken over the Municipal Auditorium, the necessary rearrangements were skilfully made, and everyone was cheerful and in good spirits about everything. Mr. Harrison's fine address, *Attacking on Social Work's Three Fronts*, has been very conveniently published in pamphlet form by the Russell Sage Foundation.

Social work's first front in these times [Mr. Harrison told us] is its direct service in the immediate war program—activities related directly to the requirements of the war effort. Whether or not this will be its most important contribution through these years, only history can finally say. It is at least the most dramatic front of the three. . . .

It is in order to win this war that we must set before ourselves, before the conquered and enslaved nations, and so far as may be before the peoples in the nations with which we are at war, a clear picture of the world the democracies are striving to bring into being. Said one of our well-known journalists recently, "Whatever nation, or alliance of nations, can first offer the peoples of the world a solution of their problems . . . will win the war."

Many of us here tonight remember, too, the last war and its disastrous aftermath. However desperately we need to win the war, we need even more to win the peace—a phrase by which people mean assuring a sound, just, and durable peace, with all its implications for social and economic conditions worth fighting for. Social work, with its ultimate concern for man and his fate, can and should speak out aggressively for the needs of man, and the means for meeting them. . . .

Although war demands have greatly reduced unemployment, the problem, everyone knows, has not been permanently solved. The loss of income to millions of workers, with its disorganization of family life, demoralization of the individuals concerned, to say nothing of the reduced production which affects the living standard of us all, will again appear as a problem of large proportions unless the wisest kind of effort is made early to do something about it. We have learned from the hard taskmaster of war that we can have full employment and even a measure of prosperity in such days as these. Our people begin to know that American inventive genius and industrial skill have now solved, for this country at least, the ancient problem of production—of producing enough goods in mine and quarry, field and farm, factory and foundry, to meet a reasonable minimum living standard for all. That nation moves on a dangerous path which, when the war ends, fails to find with reasonable promptness a way to continue this productive employment and to bring this improved standard to its people.

For this, relief is not the answer. Important and necessary as relief sometimes is, we all would prefer to have, and to see other people have, real jobs, productive jobs, instead of relief on the most liberal basis. . . .

The evening meetings were unusually brilliant, with Malcolm MacDonald for the Monday evening session, followed by Jonathan Daniels. Vera Micheles Dean at another session, our old friend Gertrude Springer, and Professor Charles Johnson of Fisk University were cordially welcomed on the general programs. "Frollies" were omitted this year; breakfast, luncheon, and dinner meetings were not planned; and the usual Conference reception was given up. But there were many urgent questions

regarding the social services and the war that everyone wanted to discuss, and the holding of the Conference at this time met the needs of various groups.

The new president for 1942, Fred Hoehler, director of the American Public Welfare Association, was enthusiastically greeted, and Dean Elizabeth Wisner of the Tulane University School of Social Work was the only candidate nominated for president in 1943. Miss Wisner's distinguished career in social work made her nomination particularly appropriate at a Conference meeting in her home city.

The American Association of Social Workers held no delegate conference this year, but, like other "kindred groups," it held some special meetings.

The American Association of Schools of Social Work held several sessions, and three new schools were admitted to membership—Wayne University, as a two-year graduate school, the State College of Pullman, Washington, as a one-year school, and the University of Hawaii for the duration of the war.

"DEMOCRACY CARES"

A VERY interesting and valuable special report dealing with the "Story behind Public Assistance in New York State" has been welcomed with appreciation in many states. Commissioner Adie very appropriately says in the Foreword:

It is an important story, since it concerns human beings. It is a tremendous story, because it describes the mass drama of powerful forces that belittle and damage human beings. It is a hopeful story, for it shows we are learning to help people who need help. It is a timely story, because it identifies forces which threaten democracy from within. . . .

Public Assistance is, always has been, home defense—insurance of our democratic way of life. It has ended the want and distress of millions of American men, women and children—the social chaos upon which foreign ideologies feed and grow. Insecurity in Europe helped to produce totalitarianism—all brands. In America it produced—Public Assistance, an historic expression of democracy. The care of all is the concern of all, in the United States.

This report gives a brief and useful statement regarding the numbers of people who are in need and the reasons why they are in need:

Millions of workers are jobless on any given day due to inevitable seasonal unemployment, down swings in commerce and industry, displacement by mech-

¹ *Democracy Cares: The Story behind Public Assistance in New York*. Albany, N.Y.: State Department of Social Welfare, 1941. Pp. 93. \$0.25.

anized processes and increased productive capacity of machinery and men, decay and merging of industries, industrial disputes, dissolution of individual businesses, absorption of small commercial units by chain store and other large-scale commercial operations, the current "priority unemployment," and countless other factors—most of which are beyond the control of both worker and employer.

From five to six per cent of our people are seriously ill at any given time—between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 persons incapacitated daily. This not only means loss of wages, but increase of expenses at a time when the worker is least able to assume the additional burden. The chronic sick and the number of persons affected with diseases associated with maturity are reaching alarming proportions and are destined to become one of our most serious social problems.

Some 3,000,000 disabling industrial accidents occur annually and approximately 25,000 are fatal. . . .

There are some 5,000,000 widows in America, many of whom are dependent, with millions of children in these fatherless homes.

Almost half of the 9,000,000 Americans 65 years of age and over are not able to support themselves. While the aged now have longer expectancy of life due to advancing medical science, they are also confronted with a shorter work-period because of discriminatory age deadlines in modern industry. . . .

These, then, are the Horsemen of Insecurity that ride through America today, leaving human want and distress on the roads to dependency. It is from these large groups—the unemployed, the sick, the injured, the widowed and the aged—that America's numerous needy come.

Thus, every day, good times or bad, millions of Americans are without means of self-support and are helpless to do anything about it. The Horsemen are no respectors of status, rank, accomplishment, abilities, or intelligence; all of us are exposed to the hazards of insecurity. The dependent population, therefore, is a cross-section of the general population.

This is a very readable story and will give all of us reassurance in our work.

It is helpful to have the New York State Welfare Department advocating federal aid for home relief. If New York needs federal aid, how much more is such help needed by the states that have no state funds or tragically inadequate state funds for public aid.

AFTER THE WAR, FREEDOM FROM WANT?

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS, now a man of the hour in Britain, made the clear statement in a very recent broadcast that "the scourge of unemployment, malnutrition, unnecessary ill-health, and waste of human ability, which our educational and social system have permitted in the past will no longer be tolerated." This was a clarion call to those who

would like reassurance that the people who bear the heaviest burdens in war and peace alike may look forward with hope to a peace that will give them the freedom from want that they have never known.



Fitzpatrick in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch"

If the leading man in the British Prime Minister's cabinet is so clear about post-war planning, surely America may join in planning not only for the war but for what will come after the war.

There is further reassurance in the fact that Vice-President Wallace, speaking before the Free World Association, said that "the century on which we are entering—the century which will come into being after this war—can be and must be the century of the common man."

THE FORTY-HOUR WEEK

AN INTERESTING point in the debate on the forty-hour week in Congress was made by Congressman Engel of Michigan, who called attention to the fact that one result of destroying the forty-hour week would be the "suspension of the thousands of union contracts." This was, he said, not merely in the

amount of dollars and cents involved, but in the fact that there is involved a fundamental principle on which our very Government is based.

Every worker who has a contract through his union with his employer can recover against the employer in case the employer violated the contract.

There is no doubt but what during the war emergency the Government can take any property right away from a citizen, but the Government must, under the Constitution, take it under due process of law and must compensate the worker or the citizen for the property right taken.

This, however, would not solve the problem. Should the Government take that property right away from the worker and reimburse the worker for his loss out of the Treasury, we would be losing money instead of saving and simply relieve the employer of a part of his obligation in his contract with the employee.

Frankly, what the proponents of legislation to suspend the 40-hour week and time-and-a-half for overtime propose is to reduce the amount of compensation that the worker is obtaining under a contract that he has with his employer without compensating the worker for such reduction.

The result would be, Mr. Engel declared, the destruction of all property rights. If you can take property rights away from workers, then the Government can do the same to the employer's property right in his factory.

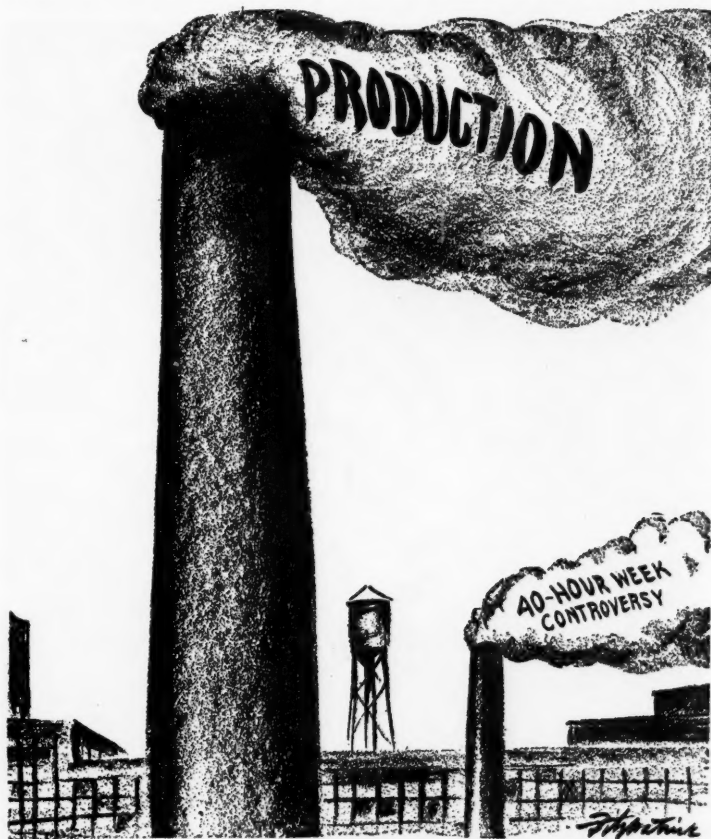
Ownership of every home, every industry, every piece of property, tangible or intangible, real or personal, and every mortgage on that property, depends on the same principle. Every bank deposit re-loaned by the bank and every life insurance policy depends on the right to own property.

If workers' rights to overtime established under union contracts are destroyed by act of Congress, Mr. Engel concluded, then these other property rights are likewise jeopardized.

An authoritative statement about the forty-hour week has recently come from General Philip H. Fleming, Federal Works Administrator. In his statement, which was published in a recent number of the *American Federationist* (Vol. XLIX, No. 3), General Fleming says:

I am a soldier by profession and . . . long before any present threat of war I had been occupied with problems of adequate national defense. As administrator of the Wage and Hour Division I said on numerous public occasions that if I became convinced that the Fair Labor Standards Act was presenting any obstacle to defense, I would immediately urge its modification. This is still my position.

It must be borne in mind that the act does *not* forbid work beyond forty hours a week. All it requires on this point is that if the covered employee does work longer than forty hours a week he shall be paid time and a half his regular rate



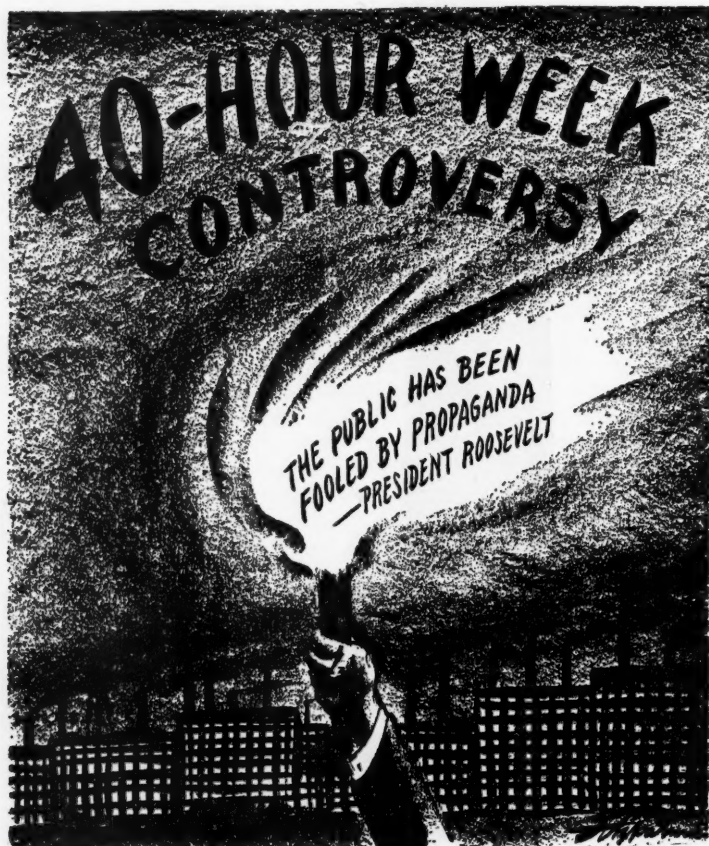
Fitzpatrick in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch"

LET'S KEEP OUR EYES ON THE MAIN STACK

of pay for the overtime. *It does not limit the number of hours that may be worked in one day.* It does not require the payment of double time for overtime. . . .

The unthinking sometimes assume that if a man can accomplish a given amount of work in one hour he will accomplish ten times as much in ten hours and sixty times as much in sixty hours. Experienced industrialists appreciate the fallacy of that thesis. . . .

I had occasion some months ago to discuss this matter with Mr. (now Lieutenant General) William Knudsen, who told me that his experience had been that when working hours were considerably lengthened it was not possible



Fitzpatrick in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch"

LIGHT ON THE SUBJECT

to get more than about eight and one-half hours of work a day out of the employee. The employee would put in the extra time required, but he would compensate to avoid fatigue by slowing down his efforts and by taking time out to rest.

The optimum number of hours for maximum production has not been clearly

established for all industries. It will vary, of course, according to the capacity and endurance of the individual workman and according to occupation. Yet it should be noted in this connection that when working hours in Great Britain were greatly increased after Dunkirk it was found that production fell off, and in August, 1940, working hours were again reduced by order of the Labor Ministry. It is interesting to note that while working hours in Great Britain continue to be somewhat longer than they are in the United States, on the average, British workers are being paid extra for hours worked beyond what was the normal work week in peacetime.

Finally, Assistant Secretary of Labor Tracy contributes the following comment (also in the *Federationist*), which some of our readers may be glad to have:

It is significant that notwithstanding payment of time and a half for overtime and the general upward trend of wages in war industries, output per man has increased, total production has increased, labor unit cost of production has decreased and profits have increased.

Another fact which is often overlooked but should never be forgotten in discussions on the effect of the overtime provisions of the Wage and Hour Law on production is that more than half of the total number of workers employed in war industries are working under collective bargaining agreements calling for time and a half for overtime after forty hours.

If the overtime provisions of the Wage and Hour Law were relaxed or put aside for the duration, the war industry plants would still have to pay time and a half for overtime to their organized and skilled workers as a matter of contract.

There has been no talk of the war abolishing the law of contracts nor will there be, it is safe to predict. Every item of war production is produced for the government under contract between the government and the manufacturer. Materials are purchased and delivered on contract, labor is engaged and employed under contract.

The chief ones to suffer, if the overtime provisions of the Wage and Hour Law were relaxed, would be the unorganized, low-wage workers, numbering hundreds of thousands, who are at the bottom of the economic ladder.

CHILD HEALTH IN RELATION TO EMPLOYMENT

THE New York State Department of Labor calls our attention to the fact that "medical examinations performed under the Selective Service Act of 1940 have shocked the nation. Approximately 50 per cent¹ of the young men examined have been rejected as physically unfit for the arduous tasks of military duty."² The New York Department wisely

¹ In New York City 57 per cent were rejected up to June 30, 1941 (see *Journal of the American Medical Association*, August 9, 1941, p. 459).

² United States Public Health Service, "Child Health and the Selective Service Physical Standards," *Public Health Report*, December 12, 1941, p. 2365.

points out that the responsibility for this situation must be sought in the past. A study of a group of selectees, both accepted and rejected, who had been examined during their school careers showed that "many of the defects for which they were rejected for service were present in childhood, and predictions of a future unfit condition in a significant number of cases could have been made on the basis of fair-to-poor nutrition and posture."³ More preventive work and attention to "ill-health during the period of growth of these individuals would undoubtedly have resulted in reducing the proportion of physically unfit."

An article in the New York Labor Department's *Industrial Bulletin* contains some wise comments on this subject:

If our attention to child health in relatively less critical times was not sufficient, the danger of neglect today, when all effort is being directed to the chief objective of winning the war, is still greater. There has been considerable discussion of peace-time labor standards under the mistaken notion that they constitute hindrances to maximum production rather than aids. This has touched child labor and school attendance standards⁴ along with hours regulations affecting adult men and women.

The need for maximum production in war-time makes it vital for our National safety to insure the protection of our working force so that we can achieve and continue to achieve the necessary output and, equally important, remain with healthy citizens to face a post-war world. The value of labor standards in protecting health and maintaining production in peace-time cannot be questioned. The present increase in the number of child workers involved⁵ and the urgency of maintaining good health, make it necessary to retain and, where warranted, amplify protective measures found useful in the past. It is, therefore, not only appropriate but necessary to re-examine the bases for our peace-time standards for the protection of child workers and young people from the point of view of war-time needs.

Working children are frequently not the equals of school children in growth and physical fitness. How much of this is due to working environment and how much to low socio-economic status and associated factors, it is impossible to say. However, the studies speak for themselves in indicating the need for special protection for children at work. . . .

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 2365-75.

⁴ University of the State of New York, "State Aid Assured for Schools Releasing Pupils for Fall Harvesting on Farms," *Bulletin to the Schools*, September, 1941, pp. 2-3.

⁵ An increase in child employment was already apparent in 1941. The New York City Board of Education issued 37,688 standard employment certificates for the first eleven months of 1941 as against 24,884 for the whole of 1940. Of no less significance is the fact that the New York City vocational schools will show a drop in enrolment during the coming academic year for the first time largely because of the defense jobs offered to vocational students (*New York Times*, January 9, 1942).

The child worker begins his industrial career at a very critical period in his development. Child welfare and public health workers in general are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of these years in determining the condition of the final product—the adult. This is the period of maturing, of adolescence, when noticeable increase in the rate of growth and marked physical, physiological and emotional changes take place. This is a period when special nurture is still needed to assure the realization of the individual's potentialities rather than a period when release from all protective measures such as school and home had previously provided is warranted.

The special susceptibilities of this age group are indicated by the rise in death rate of the 15 to 19 year olds as contrasted with the age group 10 to 14. . . .

Periods of growth require adequate nutrition, including fresh air and sunlight, and sleep, and freedom from undue fatigue if there is to be no impairment of the process. That the working environment may seriously interfere with the growth process is suggested by the comparative measurements of working and school children already cited.

The ordinary food ration may not be sufficient to provide the energy and materials both for growth and for work. Since a low socio-economic status often goes hand in hand with child labor, the chances of receiving enough food to take care of the extra work without borrowing from the growth allotment are somewhat slim. Fresh air and sunlight along with a qualitatively adequate food intake are important in building up resistance to infection, as well as in the prevention of juvenile rickets which is known to occur in the adolescent age group. The occurrence in adolescence of flat feet, spinal deformities, etc., in connection with working conditions is very possibly associated with the softening of the bones experienced in rickets. Occupations involving the carrying of heavy burdens or standing or walking for prolonged periods have been implicated among the factors responsible for the disease in histories of actual cases.

Light on the possible effects of the working environment on the health and development of children is obtained by a cursory review of the occupations in which children are engaged and their possible hazards. A survey of child workers and their jobs by the Children's Bureau in 1936 found the two predominant types of occupations to be delivery, messenger or other service jobs and semi-skilled production jobs. Agriculture, domestic service in private homes, and street trades, important child-employing industries, were not covered in this survey. Very few of the children were found in occupations demanding any skill and training, such as clerical jobs or skilled trades, making the possibilities of vocational progress slight.⁶

The effect of employment on the physical and mental development of the child depends not only on his health and the aspects of growth and maturity discussed above but also on the job itself and the specific working conditions involved. For example, much depends on the safety measures employed and the

⁶ United States Children's Bureau, *Young Workers and Their Jobs in 1936* (Bureau Publication No. 249 [Washington, D.C., 1940]), pp. 33-42.

attention paid by management to adjustable factors in the working environment such as lighting, ventilation, seats, hours, speed of work, etc.

Working conditions may contribute to skeletal and muscular deformities. Knock-knees and bow-legs are known to occur in predisposed persons employed in occupations requiring prolonged standing. Young persons who are growing rapidly and are employed too early in occupations requiring prolonged standing or carrying of heavy loads also have a tendency to flat feet. Variations in the shape of the chest and deformities of the spinal column are commonly observed effects of work in the needle trades and of heavy farm labor. Heavy work requiring excessive muscular force or the use of certain groups of muscles while others remain inactive will, in the long run, show results in overdevelopment of some muscles and underdevelopment of others. . . .

The Heart Committee of the New York Tuberculosis Association, in examinations of 1,000 newsboys, found flat feet more frequent among them than among average school children and a greater proportion of spinal curvature among those boys who carried heavy loads.

In addition to the development of actual defects, physiological immaturity entails greater susceptibility to fatigue. Concentration on a monotonous job, as well as the nervous tension created by jumping from one task to another, can contribute greatly to fatigue.⁷ We have ample proof of the harmful effects of fatigue in increasing susceptibility to illness and decreasing efficiency on the job in the adult.⁸ Fatigue in a child will, in addition, interfere with growth by affecting appetite and utilization of food and disturbing sleep. Long and restful sleep is necessary for proper growth in allowing time for re-building and adding to tissues. Emotional excitement, ill-health and physical over-tiredness may adversely affect the quality of sleep. Work both for psychological and physical reasons may be responsible for any one of these disturbing factors.

ACCIDENTS

Speed, accuracy, endurance and coordination are related to growth and development. They are essential attributes in the prevention of accidents and the performance of certain jobs. Likewise, mental and emotional maturity are important in successfully dealing with not only employment per se, but different types of jobs. Thus it can be said that higher frequency of accidents among the young is not unexpected. A recent survey by the United States Department of Labor found a higher accident frequency rate for the age group under 21 than for any other age group including those workers 60 years and over.⁹ . . .

New York State made awards in 1940 to 5,053 minors who were injured in

⁷ White House Conference on Child Health and Protection (1930), Sec. 1, Medical Service, Committee on Growth and Development, *Growth and Development of the Child*, Part I: *General Considerations* (New York, 1932), p. 158.

⁸ New York State Department of Labor, Division of Women in Industry and Minimum Wage, *Hours of Work in Relation to Health and Efficiency* (1941). Pp. 90.

⁹ United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Relation of Age to Industrial Injuries," *Monthly Labor Review*, October, 1940, p. 794.

the course of their employment involving a total of \$807,333 in compensation.¹⁰ One thousand one hundred and thirty-four of the minors suffered permanent partial disabilities, one minor was totally disabled and 17 died of their injuries. Six of the 17 deaths were due to motor vehicles: A messenger boy on a bicycle was struck by a truck; a boy delivering a grocery order and a newspaper route-boy were each struck by vehicles; a route-boy was riding on the running board of an auto making deliveries when the car skidded and hit a tree pinning him between the car and tree, etc. A golf caddy died as the result of being hit in the ankle by a golf ball, and a girl employed by a drug manufacturing concern died after a lung illness attributed to the harmful effect of powder dust which she breathed while at her work.¹¹

CHILD LABOR STANDARDS IN NEW YORK

New York State has long realized that protection of its working population and particularly its children pays the highest dividends in good health and high level of production. Incorporated in its laws are certain minimum safeguards for the health and welfare of the working child so that those children who go into industry are protected against premature employment and work in hazardous occupations and under conditions detrimental to health. Work permits are required for minors under 18. When children reach their fourteenth birthday they may work when school is not in session, except for street trades where 12 is the minimum age. Considerations of educational prerequisites as well as health requirements are behind such laws. At 16, they may work full time. Certain occupations are forbidden at 16, more at 14, because they are known to be particularly harmful to young people of those ages. Hours of work are restricted for the age group under 16, to 44 a week, and night work between 6 P.M. and 8 A.M. is prohibited. The 16-to-18-year-old may work 48 hours a week. Boys in this group may not work between 12 midnight and 6 A.M. and girls between 9 or 10 P.M. and 6 A.M. depending on the industry. A physical examination, conducted before work is undertaken, provides assurance that a child is physically fitted for legal employment from the point of view of health and development.

The observed effects of working conditions on the immature, as well as the knowledge of the substratum—the growing child—on which the working conditions act, are the bases for minimum age standards, hours restrictions, pre-employment examinations, prohibition of hazardous occupations, etc. Thus these standards for the protection of working children contribute to our need for a healthy nation to face the post-war world.

This discussion of the importance of protecting working children at the present time is very timely in view of the shortsighted efforts being made

¹⁰ For the Illinois experience see Earl E. Klein, *Work Accidents to Minors in Illinois* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938).

¹¹ New York State Department of Labor, "Compensated Accidents," *Industrial Bulletin*, September, 1941, pp. 255-57.

in many places to break down child labor standards that have been slowly built up over the years.

STATE WAR CHESTS

DISCUSSIONS regarding combined appeals to the public for various war funds, particularly the relation of such special appeals as the Red Cross and U.S.O. to the various community-fund campaigns, are still going on. Something quite new, however, appears in the recent formation of two so-called state war chests.¹

In Alabama the state defense council at a special meeting called by Governor Frank M. Dixon approved the formation of a war-chest committee "to supervise and possibly unify all state-wide fund-raising campaigns of various relief societies and other charitable agencies." It is said not to be entirely clear whether the Alabama Defense Council's committee will be, in effect, a state-wide war-appeals review committee or whether it will develop into a war chest.

Governor Dixon was quoted in the *Birmingham Age-Herald* as saying that the move in Alabama was approved in advance by a majority of the organizations concerned. "Under the suggested unification plan," said the *Age-Herald*, "the Red Cross, Russian War Relief Society, Army and Navy Relief committees, Greek Relief Society and other such agencies would share in the supervisory committee's collections."

In Rhode Island, a "representative group of citizens," under the leadership of Henry M. Wriston, president of Brown University, established a United War Fund "designed to combine, in one all-out fund-raising campaign, as many essential appeals for local and war relief agencies as possible."

The comment of *Community* is that unlike Rhode Island's United War Fund, the Alabama plan does not propose to include local all-time agencies. W. A. Steadman, active in campaigns of the Birmingham Community Chest and president of the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce, was named chairman of the committee.

Neither of these new organizations, at this writing, had announced specifically the agencies to be included. Mr. Wriston said, however, that "interest in the plan has already been expressed by local representatives of war fund agencies such as the Providence and Pawtucket chapters of the American Red Cross, the state committee of the United Service Organizations, United China Relief and Russian War Relief, as well as the community chests of Providence, Cranston, Pawtucket, Woonsocket and Warwick." The first Rhode Island campaign is planned for October.

¹ See *Community* (Bulletin of Community Chests and Councils, Inc.), April, 1942, p. 123.

THE WELFARE AGENCIES, THE O.C.D.
AND THE RED CROSS

THE questions regarding the place of the great welfare agencies which have developed since the last war in relation to the Office of Civilian Defense and the Red Cross have not yet been entirely clarified. However, as we go to press, a helpful statement from President Roosevelt has appeared in the *New York Times* (May 23, 1942) under the title "Spheres of Relief Units in Bombings Are Set":

The Federal Security Agency, the Office of Civilian Defense and the American Red Cross have agreed upon plans to assist civilian victims of enemy action in case of bombing, President Roosevelt stated at his press conference today.

The Emergency Medical Service of the United States Citizens' Defense Corps is charged with the immediate responsibility for the care of persons injured as a result of enemy action. The Red Cross will not duplicate the work of this service, Mr. Roosevelt said, but will assist the latter organization by furnishing nurses' aides, stretcher teams, ambulances and supplementary equipment.

"Because of the long experience of the Red Cross in disaster relief," the President quoted the joint statement of the Red Cross and the Federal Security Agency, "the Federal Security Administrator will look to the organization, facilities, and resources of the Red Cross to provide food, clothing and temporary shelter for masses of individuals in the emergency period during and immediately following enemy attacks when special facilities must be made available."

The Red Cross will perform these special functions only until the regular responsible Federal, State and local public agencies can make their services available, the President said, although the Red Cross will provide additional services to the appropriate public authorities, upon their request to supplement normal community facilities.

The joint statement of the Red Cross and OCD, Mr. Roosevelt asserted, makes it clear that emergency feeding and housing, though similarly recognized as a responsibility of the Red Cross, is a function of the over-all emergency services of the Citizens Defense Corps.

Where, however, an emergency food and housing corps has been independently organized and equipped, the President declared, "no duplication of its facilities should take place; its organization should be coordinated with the Red Cross and if possible consolidated."

STATUS OF THE FOREIGN-BORN CHILD ADOPTED BY A
NATURALIZED CITIZEN

THE foreign-born child adopted by a foreign-born adult who becomes naturalized is in an anomalous position. The naturalization of a foreign-born adult gives American citizenship to his own minor children

but not to his wife or to his adopted children, who must be separately naturalized. The situation of the foreign tenement mother is often one of real hardship. To the feminist group after the last war the independent citizenship of married women seemed to be one of the indications of the progress of women; and if some simple foreign-speaking wives and mothers who lived hard-working lives in crowded neighborhoods received little help toward acquiring an English vocabulary or learning the elements of civics and United States history—well, that was just too bad, and that was that! The foreign woman, then, must be naturalized in her own right, and the foreign-born child adopted by an American citizen or by a foreign-born adult who becomes a citizen must be naturalized in his own right too (*Powers v. Harten*, 183 Iowa 764; 167 N.W. 693). The explanation of this is to be found not in the attitude of any group of persons, as in the case of the foreign-born wife, but probably in the fact that, while the naturalization procedure is a federal procedure, adoption laws come under the police power of the state, and both naturalization and adoption statutes are generally strictly or narrowly interpreted. It has been suggested that the naturalization act be amended so as to include, as the Security Act includes, adopted children, stepchildren—all children making up the adult's family.

S. P. B.

EVALUATING CONTRIBUTIONS FROM RESPONSIBLE RELATIVES

AS LONG as public agencies are required by law to determine the extent to which responsible relatives are able to contribute to the support of applicants for assistance, so long must social workers struggle with an attempt to find an equitable way of evaluating their ability to contribute. While many of us doubt the desirability of such forced contributions and question whether the whole process of investigating relatives is worth what it costs, we recognize the value of some objective standards as opposed to the hit-or-miss evaluations by large groups of partially trained assistance workers.

A recent pamphlet¹ prepared by a group of New York social workers represents one of the better attempts to provide a budget by which to estimate relatives' needs in determining their ability to assist. As minimum budgets go, these budgets (for there are two) are carefully worked out; but, even so, a number of questions arise.

¹ "A Guide for Evaluating Contributions from Responsible Relatives" (New York Budget Council, 105 E. Twenty-second St., New York, January, 1942). Pp. 24. \$0.20.

The first and most important question concerns the preparation of two budgets at different levels. The explanation given does not seem entirely satisfactory. "Family standards of living depend to a large extent upon total income available, and the schedule used for a given family should be appropriate to the requirements of the family." What exactly does this mean? It seems to mean that a family who already has a relatively high standard because it has an adequate income may keep it but that another family with a lower income and hence lower standard must be required to share with relatives and hence is denied the opportunity to raise its standards to the level already attained by the first family. What equity can be found in this?

Another explanation is suggested in the description of the two schedules and the directions for their use. With regard to the lower-cost schedule it is stated that many families on this plane will be able to assist by sharing food and shelter, although they may find it difficult to give cash. Is there in fact this distinction between ability to help in cash and in kind? Certainly many people will probably agree to help by sharing when they will not agree to give cash. But is it really any less destructive of their standard of living or is it only that the costs are not so apparent and thus escape the family's notice?

As already stated, these budgets are fairly liberal. But just how liberal? Using the lower-cost schedule the needs of a family of four—father, mother, and two young children—come to about \$150 per month, while by the higher schedule they fall somewhere between \$200 and \$225.² It is interesting to note the status of such families with regard to exemption from the federal income tax. Under the tax law of 1940, the exemption limit for families of this size was \$2,800; under the 1941 law it was \$2,300. Thus, even in 1941 the family with \$150 a month income would be clearly exempt, and the higher-income family just covered. Cannot the state in figuring exemption limits for contributions to relatives be as liberal as the federal government for income-tax purposes?

Finally, a question must be raised as to how a budget would work out in practice when it combines maximum or standard allowances for some items with "as paid" allowances for others. Some of the allowances "as paid" are shelter, union dues, and telephone. For food, on the other hand, there is a standard allowance, while insurance and miscellaneous items are allowed as paid except that maximums are suggested—for insurance

² Exact amounts cannot be figured because a number of items are scheduled "as paid." The figures given are rough but fairly close approximates.

5 per cent of the income and for miscellaneous items 10 per cent. Probably an illustration will make clear the reviewer's doubts. Let us take three comparable families, each with an income of \$150 per month. Family I spends in pretty close conformity to the budget estimates, with \$7.50 per month for insurance and \$15.00 per month for miscellaneous items. Its total expenditure is \$150, its budget \$150. Family II spends only \$5.00 a month for insurance but buys an \$18.75 War Savings Bond (classified under miscellaneous) every other month, thus bringing its expenditures for miscellaneous items to \$17.50, instead of the suggested maximum of \$15.00. Thus its expenditure is \$150, its budget \$137.50. Family III spends \$10.00 a month more for food than the budget estimates and cuts down on miscellaneous items. Its budget then is \$140, the expenditure is still \$150. It seems clear that these three families are equal in their ability to contribute to their needy relatives, although by the suggested schedule Families II and III show a surplus, while Family I shows a budget equal to the income.

Undoubtedly the budget-makers would say that they did not intend to apply it in this way. True, the maximums quoted say "usually" expenditures should not exceed these percentages, and there are cautions in other places against too rigid application and statements that the budgets are not intended as patterns of expenditures to which all must conform. But the budgets must be used by public assistance workers with varying amounts of training and skill, and in the hands of many (if not most) such workers the results suggested by the illustration would undoubtedly be reached.

Thus, in spite of the care which has gone into the making of this particular budget, one is far from certain that evenhanded justice would be meted out by its use. If we must have an estimate of relatives' ability to contribute, would it not be simpler and more equitable to work out a standard budget for normal families of different sizes and to say that no one with an income under this standard would be expected or encouraged to contribute, but that if families had more than this standard they might be excused if they showed higher than normal needs—occasioned by ill-health, for example, debt on which they were paying, or other peculiar circumstances. This would eliminate the work of figuring budgets for many families, not only saving the time of the worker but avoiding questions to the family about its actual expenditures—questions which are not easy to answer and which must often prove annoying. This suggestion is presented as an alternative to the method more generally used today. While it is believed to be more satisfactory, it is suggested only as a stop-

gap until such time as the community can be persuaded to accept the principle of figuring the needs of the applicant for public assistance on the basis of his own income and to give up the outworn principle of relatives' responsibility.

H. R. W.

PRISONERS OF WAR

One of the humanitarian services needed in wartime is work for prisoners of war. The Geneva Convention of 1929 strengthened the earlier Hague Conventions regarding their treatment. One of the notable results of the Convention has been the "repatriation" of British and Italian wounded prisoners. The *Manchester Guardian* (April 10, 1942), commenting on this recent exchange, calls attention to the fact that the 1929 Convention imposed a specific duty on belligerents "to send back to their own country prisoners of war who are seriously ill or seriously wounded," with the categories available for such repatriation to be decided by agreement, reminding its readers that "during the last war there was only too much evidence that the treatment of prisoners was by no means in all cases that enjoined by the Hague Conventions." But "the instinct of humanity was still hopeful of better things," particularly after the Geneva Convention. The *Manchester Guardian* comments further:

In a new war, which has brought still greater scope for bitterness and suspicion, it is heartening news that the British and Italian Governments, with the Swiss as intermediaries, on British proposals put forward six months ago, have been able to apply the provisions of the 1929 Convention and that on Saturday the return of some of the prisoners began. It is in no sense a bargain on an exchange basis, but the acceptance of a humane duty already provided for by what was meant to be a civilised code. There is no balancing of one batch of prisoners against another; the Italians, it is said, are likely to receive back some five times the number of disabled men who will be available for return to this country. Illness and disability, except in the case of certain non-combatants who are also affected, supply the only test. That the arrangement should have been proposed and accepted is to the credit of both Governments and a hopeful sign of reviving standards of humane obligation in the midst of an embittered struggle.

POSITION OF ALIENS IN GREAT BRITAIN IN WARTIME

A CONTROVERSY regarding the position of aliens in wartime inevitably arises in our United States where the presence of a large number of so-called "enemy aliens," with families, largely made up of American citizens by birth, creates difficult wartime problems and may lead to

unnecessarily harsh treatment of hard-working men and women. Naturalization has been made increasingly difficult and expensive since the last war, and many aliens have not found it possible to become citizens. The vast majority of them consider themselves Americans and are entirely loyal and law-abiding. The Japanese, both aliens and citizens, have been singled out for special mass evacuation and relocation,¹ and other alien groups, as the war continues, will also face great hardships. Can these hardships be prevented or mitigated?

We are glad to publish the following account of the treatment of aliens in Great Britain during the present war. This brief article comes to us from an authoritative British source, and we believe many of our readers will be glad to have this statement.

At the outbreak of war there were 238,074 aliens in Great Britain, of whom Germans were the largest single group.

"There will be a general desire," said the Home Secretary, announcing the Government's policy towards aliens, "to avoid treating as enemies those who are friendly to the country which has offered them asylum." The unexpected course of the war in Europe did not allow this calm policy to stand unbroken. For a time, when invasion seemed imminent, Britain interned a large number of enemy alien refugees, and even sent some of them to Canada and Australia. Later, however, it became possible to revert to the original policy and the interned refugees were almost all released. Though some saw even temporary internment as an unnecessary hardship to refugees who were Hitler's enemies, the dominant fact is that Britain turned to an internment policy only in a period of unexpected crisis, and reversed this policy for all who proved, after scrutiny, to be completely trustworthy.

On the outbreak of war, enemy aliens on the "Black List" of the British authorities were immediately interned, but it was known that of the 74,233 Germans and Austrians resident in Great Britain at least 50,000 were refugees from "Nazi oppression," the majority Jewish or of Jewish descent. The Government announced that it would refrain from a policy of general internment, but would, instead, have all Germans and Austrians reviewed before tribunals, to ascertain which of them could properly be left at large and which should be interned or subjected to other restrictions.

REGULATIONS

Meanwhile, all aliens over sixteen were required to report immediately to the police. Enemy aliens (that is, Germans and Austrians), were forbidden, without permission in advance, to change their residence or to travel more than five miles from their residence (except in the London area), and were to report to the police if absent for more than twenty-four hours from their home address.

¹ See this *Review*, pp. 375-78.

Other aliens were not subjected to any new restrictions. British and foreign women of German or Austrian nationality by marriage had to register. Citizens of Czecho-Slovakia, even though previously resident in areas now occupied by Germany, were not classified as enemy aliens. Within a few weeks, more than 100 tribunals had been set up.

These tribunals divided the enemy aliens they examined into three categories—A, aliens to be interned immediately; B, those to be put under some restrictions; and C, to be free of all restrictions except those which applied to non-enemy aliens.

The tribunals were made up of an individual with legal experience—usually a lawyer or judge; and a liaison officer, chosen by the Voluntary Refugee Committees to contribute any information possessed by these committees. A police officer was present so that confidential official information could be supplied also.

By March, 1940, 73,353 Germans and Austrians had appeared before the tribunals; of these, only 569 had been put into category A for immediate internment, while 6,782 were put into B; 64,254 were put into C and suffered no extra restrictions. The B category, however, had apparently been interpreted by some tribunals to mean "possibly dangerous" and by others as "almost certainly innocent." Twelve Regional Committees were therefore set up to review the B decisions, and also to reconsider any doubtful C cases.

During this period all uninterned aliens, including enemy aliens, were allowed to live in any part of Great Britain and to take any work, subject, of course, to the consent of the Ministry of Labor. Enemy aliens were recruited for the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps and were allowed to work in defense industries.

STRICTER ATTITUDE TO ALL ALIENS

At the end of March, 1940, the Government began to impose further restrictions. An Order was issued declaring that aliens resident in the "protected areas" (mainly important coastal districts) could continue to live there only with the written permission of the police or the Home Secretary. But at the beginning of May, when the Netherlands was overrun by the Nazi invaders, and invasion of Britain seemed imminent, the public became considerably alarmed by the possible dangers which might arise from harboring Fifth Columnists among the aliens who still enjoyed freedom in Great Britain. On May 12, the Government suddenly interned all aliens between sixteen and sixty (except for the invalid and the infirm) living in certain coastal areas, and ordered all other aliens living in these areas to report daily in person to the police. They were forbidden to use any motor vehicle or bicycle, and were ordered to stay at home between 8 P.M. and 6 A.M. All these measures were regarded as provisional, and the police were authorized to grant exemptions if they were satisfied that they did not prejudice the national interest. A few days later, the internment of all male enemy aliens between sixteen and sixty of the B category was ordered, and

within a short time the Government began to intern practically all male enemy aliens even of C category, and a considerable number of female aliens, mainly of the B category.

In July, an Order was issued under which all former Austrians, Germans and Italians, who had become naturalized British subjects since December, 1932, were also obliged to report to the police.

The Government stated a number of times that internment was "a precautionary measure only, and was not intended to make, nor did it in fact make, any reflection on any loyal or friendly alien interned in pursuance of general directions."

On May 29, 1940, the Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department affirmed that he could not recall any case, since the beginning of the war, of a hostile act having been proved in a Court of Law to be attributable to German or Austrian refugees. The dominant cause of the internment policy was, in fact, the daily expectation of invasion and a general feeling that enemy aliens, even those who had proved friendly to the Allied cause, were better "out of the way"—if only for their own protection if invasion came. For the same reason, when considerable numbers of unfriendly aliens and prisoners of war were sent to Canada and Australia "for safe-keeping" in July, 1940, a number of interned enemy alien refugees were sent with them, on the general principle that the less people who had to be looked after in England during an invasion, the better it would be.

REVIEW AND RELEASE

As it had never been anticipated that it would be felt necessary to intern large numbers of refugee aliens, little preparation had been made, with the result that during July and August, 1940, conditions in refugee internment camps in Great Britain were, to say the least, imperfect. Public opinion was profoundly disturbed by these conditions, and before long the Government gave assurances that refugee aliens, in many categories, would be released from internment, and that conditions in the camps would be greatly improved for those remaining.

Several committees were set up to look into the treatment of aliens: the Lytton Committee, an advisory council on general alien policy; the Asquith Committee on internment policy; the Loraine Committee on interned Italians. Separate tribunals reviewed enemy aliens asking to be released as active anti-Fascists, Germans and Austrians of B category, and non-enemy aliens detained under article 12 (5A) of the Aliens Order, 1920. Fundamental changes and improvements were made in the conditions of internment.

As early as August, 1940, the Government specified some categories of interned enemy aliens who could apply for release, extending the categories in October, 1940, and again in 1941. Those released included refugees under eighteen and over sixty-five, the infirm and cases of special hardship: those who held key positions in work of national importance in industry or agriculture, scien-

tists and doctors, volunteers for the Pioneer Corps or army, parents of soldiers in the British army, those who had taken any active part in opposing the Nazi regime, and those about to emigrate. Later almost all who could do useful work were released.

The Government announced recently that nationals of states at war with the Axis would be exempted from restrictions imposed on foreigners.

All other aliens are still subject formally to the restrictions mentioned above with regard to curfew, residence in "protected areas," ownership of vehicles of transport, and the like. Exceptions are granted and every effort is made to "administer the regulations sympathetically." Aliens are now helping the national effort on almost the same footing as citizens. In 1940 the Ministry of Labor announced that an International Labor Force would be formed in which all aliens could be usefully employed in Great Britain. In June and July, 1941, when all aliens, including enemy aliens, had to register for employment for national service, it was found that over eighty-five per cent were already usefully employed. Many had high professional qualifications or were skilled workmen when they came to England; others have received training for industrial work under the same conditions as British citizens. All alien doctors, including enemy alien refugees, may now practise during the present emergency, even without taking the British diploma previously required.

Enemy alien refugees are recruited in considerable numbers to the Armed Forces. The men join the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps, though they may be transferred to other regiments and may even be granted commissions. The women are taken mainly for the Auxiliary Territorial Service. All can serve in Civilian Defense. It must be emphasized that the employment of aliens is always subject to the receipt of permits from the Security organizations, but these are very rarely withheld.

REFUGEES TRANSFERRED TO CANADA AND AUSTRALIA

Two qualifications must be made in assessing the number of aliens in Great Britain today, as compared with the number for September, 1939. A considerable number, probably some thousands, of enemy aliens and other alien refugees who were in England only as transmigrants at the outbreak of war were able to emigrate overseas, mainly to the United States, during the first year of the war. On the other hand, many refugees have arrived in Great Britain from countries overrun by Germany. These include some 3,000 Poles, 1,600 Dutch, 13,900 Belgians, 450 Czechs and 130 Spaniards.

When the policy of release of refugees was announced for Great Britain, it was hoped to extend this policy to refugees transferred in July, 1940, to internment in Canada and Australia. At first the governments in both Dominions were not prepared to consider release, taking the view that the internees had been transferred only for safe-keeping and not for immigration. The Government sent representatives to both countries to arrange for the return and release

in Great Britain of refugees who might justifiably claim release under the White Paper. Over 1,000 refugees were returned to Britain from Canada and over 500 from Australia. The Canadian Government also agreed, after a time, to the release in Canada of student refugees and of men who might be of special value in the war effort. Nearly 200 have already been released on these grounds. It has also been announced recently that refugees in Australia will now be released for the Australian army, for the industrial war effort, as students or on health grounds.

While the question of release was pending in Canada and Australia, conditions for the interned refugees were greatly improved in both countries and many special facilities were granted to them. Charges made concerning the conditions in the ships on which they were sent abroad were thoroughly investigated by committees set up by the British Government; the offenders were punished, and the refugees were compensated for loss of their property.

BRITISH SOCIAL SERVICES IN WARTIME

UNDER the general term "social services" the British include various services like the schools and health services that we classify differently in America. Keeping this in mind is important.

In 1890 public expenditure on social services in Britain amounted to less than \$3.00 a person, whereas in 1936 expenditures for this purpose amounted to \$40 a person. In a recent statement issued by the British Library of Information, attention is called to the great change that has taken place in the economic and social position of the wage-earning classes, which is said to be largely due to "the expansion of the different forms of collective social provision." Since the last war "one third of the population has been rehoused. Nine years have been added to the expectation of life since 1914; the infant mortality has been cut by fifty-eight per cent. Tests show that children leave school both taller and heavier than their predecessors of 1914."

The effect of the present war on these so-called "social services" is of interest to all of us, and this interesting British statement seems important enough to quote in some detail:

The outbreak of war has made the maintenance of these services even more essential. The framework of the social service system remains unimpaired, while at the same time, many extra services have had to be undertaken by the Government, for the people to meet the special needs of war. In some cases these services will remain in existence after the war.

The services which make up the framework of the social service system of Great Britain might be conveniently divided into four groups; to these, various wartime services have been added.

1. *The community services.*—The provision of state financed or state aided schools, public health and medical services (hospitals, clinics, welfare centers, school medical services, health visitors), unemployment exchanges, care of the disabled and subnormal, etc.

2. *Government subsidies.*—Particularly for housing and certain agricultural subsidies such as milk.

3. *Social insurances.*—Health, old age and unemployment contributory schemes.

4. *Social assistance.*—Non-contributory pensions schemes, unemployment assistance allowances, etc.

During the war, new basic services have been added (communal feeding, the protection of the citizen from hostile attack, the care and housing of war workers, etc.) while extensions have been made to the services already existing.

The work of administering these services falls largely on the democratically elected Local Authorities and their officers.

With regard to wartime extensions of the so-called "community services," the statement deals first with health and medical services:

The effect of the war measures taken has been to increase the capacity and equipment of existing hospitals very considerably and to impose a regional organization of them. The Ministry of Health has organized hospitals to provide for civilian casualties. In some cases beds have been supplied by increasing the accommodation in existing hospitals and by sending home chronic cases. In others, the hospitals have been enlarged: 40,000 new beds have been provided in special hutments attached to certain hospitals and a scheme for 10,000 more is near completion. A Blood Transfusion Service has been built up with stores of plasma for immediate use. Thirty Emergency Public Health Laboratories have been set up over the country to cope with any sudden outbreak of epidemic which might be expected to arise from air raids. Free medical supplies have been issued to all health authorities in order to forward the work of immunizing children against diphtheria. Air raid casualties and evacuated children receive free medical treatment. Civil Defense Workers, the members of the Women's Land Army, officers and men of the Merchant Navy and essential works factory workers living away from home may receive free treatment through the Emergency Medical Service.

Welfare.—Evacuation and the mobilization of women for industry has made it essential for the infant welfare services and the maternity services to be extended. There are now over 145 maternity homes in reception areas and over seventy ante-natal and post-natal hostels provided for evacuated mothers. Although nearly all boroughs provided day nurseries or infant welfare centers before the war, the Government has asked all Local Authorities to provide War-time Nurseries and has undertaken to finance them one hundred per cent. These nurseries care for children up to five years old and are of two kinds—

part-time nurseries which are open during school hours, and whole-time nurseries which provide full day-time care and maintenance. A trained teacher is in charge of the children from two to five and a trained matron in charge of the under-two-year-olds. These nurseries enable women who have young children to go into war work, but they are not intended exclusively for the use of such women, and are set up wherever there is a need for them. The mothers pay five cents a day for part-time care, and twenty cents for full-time care. No fee is asked from mothers who cannot afford to pay. The Government supplies pre-fabricated huts especially designed for nurseries, in cases where suitable premises cannot be found.

Nursery Units are being established in large houses in reception areas for children from target areas whose mothers cannot accompany them. The Government supplies nurses and equipment.

Under the National Milk Scheme one pint of milk, free for low income groups and at a reduced price for others, can be claimed for all infants under five and for nursing and expectant mothers. This has been accompanied by severe restrictions on adult consumption of milk.

Schools.—The provision in schools of hot meals for children has been much extended since the war. The Government now makes a maximum grant of 95 per cent of the cost to the Local Authority for this purpose and it is planned to feed 1,000,000 children by July 1942. All meals are given at cost price and children of necessitous parents receive them free of charge. Seven out of every ten children receive milk at a reduced price at school, beyond the rationed allowance and a large proportion receive it free.

Government subsidies.—Apart from particular grants covered by the other services, the Government is now subsidizing food at the rate of \$400,000,000 a year in order to ensure that prices do not rise as a result of the scarcity of food consequent to the diversion of shipping to war needs.

*Social insurance and social assistance.*¹—... Since the war, the scope of Health Insurance has been widened and now covers white collar workers earning up to \$1,680 a year, while the amount of the benefits has been raised. . . .

With regard to the standard rate of compensation it has been raised since the war and the principle of family allowance introduced into the system.

With regard to the Unemployment Insurance Scheme . . . since the war, unemployment insurance, like the health insurance, has been extended and the rates of benefit and of the unemployment assistant allowances have been raised. . . . Since the war, the Contributory Pensions Scheme has been extended to include insured women at sixty and the non-contributory allowance has been nearly doubled.

Compensation for injury or death.—Services and Civilians: The Ministry of Pensions is responsible for the award of pensions and allowances to men and

¹ See also a letter to the editor, pp. 342-43.

women members of the Forces and the Merchant Marine, for disablement due to injuries or disease attributable to their service, and to their dependents in case of death due to service. The arrangements include the payment of detention allowances to the families of men who are held as prisoners of war or are detained abroad as the result of enemy action. The benefits and scales of award under the various schemes have been improved since the outbreak of the war. The Personal Injuries (Civilians) Scheme of 1941 extended the scope and benefits of the earlier schemes and now covers the whole of the adult population of the United Kingdom as regards compensation for disablement due to war-like operations. Pensions to widows, orphans and parents are also payable in cases of death from air raids, etc.

Injury allowances.—Under the Personal Injuries Scheme, pensions for disablement are only payable where there is serious and prolonged disablement. There is, however, a system of injury allowances which are payable for a period following the injury during which there is incapacity for work.

Evacuation.—The evacuation of school children and of mothers with pre-school age children was undertaken by the Government, working through the Local Authorities, at the outbreak of war; free transportation is given and arrangements made for billeting the mothers and children, and schooling the children in the evacuation areas. Special hostels have been set up to house "difficult" or subnormal children. Over forty camp schools have been set up for evacuated schools which could be better accommodated in this way than in the reception area schools.

Communal feeding centers.—The dislocation of home life due to the transfer of labor and the employment of women in war work, the needs of Civil Defense workers who were not able to get home for meals during duty hours, the cutting off of gas and electricity by raid damage—making cooking temporarily impossible—all contributed to the need for cheap restaurants where well cooked food was assured. Accordingly the Ministry of Food, in collaboration with the Local Authorities, has set up communal feeding centers, generally called "British Restaurants," where well balanced and expertly cooked meals may be had for an average price of twenty-two cents for three courses. Over one thousand such restaurants have now been set up and many more are in preparation. These restaurants also supply "Cash and Carry" meals which can be reheated at home. . . .

Air raid aftercare.—Rest centers are provided for people who have been bombed out of their homes and who need immediately somewhere to sleep and eat. Here they can get direction on how to obtain new ration books, identity cards, compensation, etc. Free accommodation can be provided for at least two weeks, for those who have lost their homes. Immediate financial help is also given, and rail fare to those who wish to take shelter with relations who live out

of town. The Government pays a billeting allowance to hosts who receive people who are homeless as a result of raids. Administrative and Information Centers are provided to give help and advice with arrangements for compensation, etc., to those who do not go to a Rest Center. Children who are orphaned as a result of raids, are under the special care of the Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Pensions, and arrangements are made to put them under the care of relations or of those who can offer suitable homes.

Repair of damaged houses and the storing of furniture from bombed houses is undertaken by the Local Authorities, who will also lend furniture to those who have lost everything and are setting up a new home.

Compensation for war damage.—In various acts, the Government has brought into effect plans for compulsory insurance, at low rates, against the effects of war damage to all types of property, while at the same time making generous provision for free compensation for losses of private persons up to a certain amount. The Commodities Insurance Scheme (introduced in 1939), by making insurance compulsory for the stock in trade of all wholesalers and retailers (over certain minimum amounts) "spread the risk" over the whole country. . . .

Welfare of labor.—The welfare of factory workers has, since the war, become the responsibility of the Ministry of Labor, and the work and staff of the Factory Department of the Home Office has passed to this Ministry. Special allowances are being paid to students to enable those who could not otherwise afford it, to train for work in industrial welfare. A Factory and Welfare Advisory Board has been created to assist the Ministry, and divisional and local welfare officers have been appointed. Also a Central Consultative Council consisting of representatives of all voluntary bodies, has been set up to deal with the welfare of workers outside the factory on such matters, for instance, as housing and billeting, hospital accommodation and communal feeding centers. All large factories must provide medical care and medical supervision.

The housing of war workers is now the responsibility of the Minister of Labor, and with the growing shortage of billets available near the factories, the government has undertaken the building of hostels. A National Service Hostels Corporation has been set up by the Ministry to manage these hostels, though other agencies such as the Y.W.C.A. and the Co-operative Holiday Association also act for the Ministry in some cases. Government built and designed prefabricated units are often used, but in the case of the new factories being set up, the workers' accommodation is built, along with the community kitchens, recreation facilities, etc., simultaneously with the plant.

Hostels have also been set up in London to care for young people whose family life has been disrupted as a cause of the war, for instance by the evacuation of the mother.

DANGER OF A TYPHUS EPIDEMIC IN EUROPE

THE danger of pestilence following war and of resulting hardships among the people, with famine conditions in certain areas, was discussed in our editorial notes in this section of the *Review* in March. The following excellent, brief statement will be of interest to our readers:¹

The ravages of typhus fever during the World War, and the civil disturbances following it, form a classic but grim chapter in the history of epidemics. How many succumbed to typhus then can never be known at all accurately because of the utter breakdown of whatever health and statistical services existed in the countries through which this disease swept. As early as 1915 Serbia experienced an epidemic that took hundreds of thousands of lives of her citizens and of Austrian prisoners of war. So severe was this outbreak that an Austrian offensive against the country was reported to have been delayed largely on its account. Later, with the military operations in Russian territories and some Balkan countries, typhus fever, normally endemic there, increased rapidly. Eventually the disease spread like wildfire through many parts of eastern Europe. Populations were exhausted by famine and the hardships of foreign and civil wars. The means to fight the disease were almost wholly lacking. As a result, Russia alone, during 1917-1921, is said to have lost 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 lives. This is a conservative estimate.

There are grave fears that the frightful losses of life from typhus will be repeated in the present war. One after another the areas through which the disease swept a generation ago have now been drawn into the conflict, and many of the conditions which prepared the way for the spread of the disease then are now being duplicated. The "scorched earth" policy of the Russians is one such condition, because probably only a fraction of the population of the invaded section of Russia were evacuated. Even if the Russians have been unable to carry out, to the limit, the policy of destroying or removing food and fuel supplies, the commandeering of such supplies by the German authorities in occupied areas has made desperate a situation that was already grave. The cruel conditions now existing in eastern European countries are ideal for the spread of a typhus epidemic.

So far, in certain parts of eastern and southeast Europe, typhus has remained under some measure of control during the current conflict, according to data collected by the League of Nations and the United States Public Health Service. Unfortunately, however, for most localities in this region—many of which nor-

¹ From the *Statistical Bulletin*, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Vol. XXII, No. 11. And there is an excellent discussion of the general subject "Disease in Wartime" by Kendrick Lee in *Editorial Research Reports*, 1942, Vol. I, No. 6 (February 10, 1942), covering the prevalence and possibility of epidemic disease in past wars and "Preventive Measures in World War II."

mally harbor typhus—no data are available since their recent invasion. Even in some countries which are still nominally independent, the quality of the data has deteriorated with the disruption of civil health services. Transfers of territory and interchanges of population have also contributed to this situation.

From the facts which are available for a few countries, the signs are ominous, although the total number of cases is as yet relatively small—still in the hundreds or thousands where records exist, as compared with the huge figures of the last war and the postwar period. Thus, many cases of typhus have occurred in areas of Poland annexed by Germany which formerly were almost entirely free from the disease. The number of cases in this region rose tenfold in 1940 above the numbers for 1938 and 1939 and, as of the latest date in 1941, the number has again been trebled over the figure for 1940. Some cases have appeared in Germany itself and in other areas seized by her in 1938–1939. Whether these cases are limited to persons from the invaded areas, who are now working in Germany, is unknown. In the other parts of Poland, in some of which the disease was normally endemic, and which have been overrun by armies in two successive years, conditions of life have been rendered so bad that typhus has certainly increased and is likely to rise at an accelerated pace.

The same circumstances in varying degree exist in the whole combat area of eastern Europe, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Particularly in Lithuania and parts of western Russia, numerous cases of typhus occur every year, although since 1937 no data at all have been given out by Russia, and data for areas taken over by Russia ceased with their annexation. In Russia, more than 40,000 cases of typhus were recorded in 1936, the last full year for which such data are available. The disease is normally present in several other territories that have been transferred in the political upheavals of the past few years, some of which, like Bessarabia, have also been the scene of military operations. In the territory acquired by Hungary from Czechoslovakia, the frequency of typhus rose approximately fourfold in 1940, and the latest data in 1941 show a 50-percent increase over 1940. In the section of Transylvania transferred to Hungary from Rumania, an even greater rise has occurred. In Rumania (as constituted in January, 1941), the frequency of the disease in 1940 was somewhat above normal, and rose rather sharply in the first half of 1941. The political turmoil in Rumania has been so continuous in the last two or three years, that doubt may be expressed as to the validity of the statistics for that country, and the situation is probably worse than appears from the statistics.

In Bulgaria typhus did not rise in recent years much above prewar levels until the first part of 1941, when the incidence practically doubled over 1940. In Yugoslavia, the facts are available only for the first two months of the year, prior to its invasion. Conditions in that unhappy country now are so bad that the outlook is rather grim.

A fresh reminder of the perils from typhus resulting from war conditions is the recent experience of Spain. The civil war and its aftermath left that country

impoverished and exhausted. Normal processes of reconstruction have been hindered as a result of the impact of the European war on the country. Because of this, and because of special circumstances created by the conflict itself, Spain, which is normally free from the disease, has suffered a severe outbreak, with the number of cases exceeding 8,000 during the first eight months of 1941.

Typhus looms as a dark menace over all of eastern and southeastern Europe in territories harboring a prewar population of 125,000,000 peoples. The tragedy of typhus is that it is perfectly controllable by comparatively simple sanitary measures. But the great bulk of the people in these areas, who live, even in the best of times, at little above a subsistence level, have been reduced much below that level. In addition to serious shortages of food, fuel, and clothing, there has been destruction of houses and transportation facilities on an enormous scale. These circumstances, together with overcrowding and with the apathy engendered by famine and tyranny on the populations affected, make them a prey to the rapid spread of typhus.

While modern science has developed special methods of fighting the disease, particularly in the way of new vaccines, the chances of application of these remedies in the war-torn areas of eastern Europe are extremely poor. Medical and nursing personnel in these areas, which is normally scant, is grossly inadequate today. Indeed, if in Spain, now at peace, the spread of the epidemic has not been checked, how much less is the prospect for control in the areas directly involved in military operations. Typhus has a fairly well marked seasonal incidence, generally rising rapidly in early winter to a peak in the late winter or early spring. Conditions are such that this winter may well see the beginning of a devastating outbreak of the disease. Civilian and military health authorities may be able to keep it within bounds in some areas, but the prospect of such control does not appear good in much of the affected region. If, moreover, the experience of earlier periods is repeated, the incidence of typhus fever will probably remain for a year or more well above levels prevailing before the present conflict. The basic conditions in eastern Europe which have brought the threat of a typhus outbreak cannot be quickly remedied.

THE STORY OF MARY CORNISH

MANY American social workers who were interested in the work of the United States Committee for the Care of European Children will not forget the shock with which we received word of the torpedoing of the steamship "City of Benares," which was bringing ninety evacuated children from England to a haven across the Atlantic. Mary Cornish, a London music teacher and one of the escorts on the ship, drifted for eight days in a life-boat with six of the little boys for whom she was responsible. Mary Cornish, saved from the sea with the six boys in

her care, has now told her valiant story¹ in some detail. This story will be of interest to many of our readers.

IN MEMORIAM

GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY: 1855-1942

WE ALWAYS called him "Dean Kirchwey," although social workers did not enjoy the high privilege of knowing and working with him until some years after he had given up the deanship of the Columbia Law School. He had been a lawyer and a great teacher of law until he was fifty years old, but he turned aside from his long-time professional interests to enlist in the great cause of prison reform and the reform of the criminal law. Some of us knew Dean Kirchwey first when he served with Thomas Mott Osborne as one of the prison reform commissioners in New York State back in 1913-14 and especially after he succeeded Mr. Osborne as warden of Sing Sing when the brave efforts of these two men to bring light through the old prison bars attracted national and international attention. After that he again became a great teacher—this time a teacher of young social workers in the New York School of Social Work, now a part of Columbia University. For fifteen years he not only taught in the New York School but he gave courses of lectures for us not infrequently in the University of Chicago; and social work students came to understand the importance of the whole field of prison reform, parole, probation, and the importance of the reform of the criminal law as one of the great and neglected fields of social service. During this period he also conducted the epoch-making surveys of prison conditions for the state of New Jersey and the state of Pennsylvania.²

He was not only a gifted speaker but he was delightfully gay and witty and humorous as well as learned, and he had the crusader's buoyant and tireless spirit. He had a rare gift of making friends, and many of us through the years not only admired him but treasured his friendship. An

¹ Elspeth Huxley, *Atlantic Ordeal: The Story of Mary Cornish* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941). \$1.00.

² *New Jersey Prison Inquiry Commission Report* (1917) in 2 vols.; *Pennsylvania Commission To Investigate Penal Systems Report* (January 1, 1919) (Philadelphia, 1919), pp. 79; and see *The Evolution of Penology in Pennsylvania*, by Harry Elmer Barnes, which contains "a revision and an elaboration" of a study undertaken for the Pennsylvania Commission. These reports and studies are typical of the scholarly contribution Dean Kirchwey made to our field.

article in the *Nation*, of which his daughter, Freda Kirchwey, is the able editor, said of him:

It was not sensibility that made him a sworn enemy of capital punishment but the experience that "the millions who read of it in the press are less affected by the lesson the penalty aims to teach them than by the emotion of sympathy for the tragic victim." After reviewing an "elaborate array of motives for punishment," he concluded that "it has been a long journey from the era of hatred and contempt, but the end of the reign of terror is in sight. . . ."

Loyal to his principles, George Kirchwey took an active part in work for peace as president of the American Peace Society and by promoting social peace as well. Some persons called him a radical because he was so often on the side of the underdog, occupying himself with finding employment for World War veterans and with looking out for discharged prisoners.

JOHN LOVEJOY ELLIOTT: 1868-1942

AS THE founder of the Hudson Guild Settlement, John Lovejoy Elliott, a teacher of ethics and senior leader of the Society for Ethical Culture in New York, was one of the pioneer leaders of the settlement movement in this country. The early "head residents" like Jane Addams found him a friend as well as a comrade at arms. Like Miss Addams he came from the Illinois pioneer tradition and knew the people who remembered Lincoln. He was at one time president of the National Federation of Settlements and was a well-known figure for a long period of years in work for better housing, health facilities for the poor, and recreation and cultural activities for the great group of disinherited and underprivileged people. Like other settlement leaders he tried to find "better ways of living and working together." Mrs. Simkhovitch, the long-time head resident of Greenwich House, another pioneer in the settlement movement, said of him that he was

first of all a neighbor, a neighbor who never sidestepped an opportunity to understand, trust and serve the people he met, seeing in everyone the possibility for change, for growth, and for meeting common tasks. Fellowship, our life together, was his creed and his daily practice. "The deepest word in religion is communion," he once said.

He began where he was, the only sound way, but his neighborliness, his devotion, and his hopes went out to the whole world.

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR

THE BRITISH AMEND THEIR SOCIAL INSURANCE
ACTS IN WARTIME

I am taking the liberty of asking you to call the attention of your readers to the fact that even during the periods while "bombs are falling on England," the members of the British Parliament, realizing the importance of their social insurances during the war, have seen fit to strengthen and to extend the provisions of these services.¹ Among other things, the rates of sickness and disablement benefits of the National Health Insurance Act of July 14, 1936, were, after August 7, 1941, increased three shillings a week so that a married man may now receive sickness benefits of eighteen shillings a week, and a married woman may receive thirteen shillings. For the unmarried, the benefits are fifteen shillings a week. The disablement benefits were increased also so that a married man may now receive ten shillings and sixpence a week, and a married woman eight shillings. For unmarried, the disablement benefits are nine shillings a week. Likewise, the health-insurance contributions have been increased by twopence a week, an increase which has been shared by employers and employees so that each now pays an additional penny a week. This means that a total of five and one-half pence a week is paid by employed men contributors, and fivepence by employed women contributors. In addition, the employer pays five and one-half pence a week in the case of both men and women.

The coverage of the National Health Insurance Act after January 4, 1942, and the Workmen's Compensation Act after December 31, 1941, was extended greatly so that nonmanual workers are now covered if earning less than four hundred and twenty pounds a year. The old provision of the National Health Insurance Act included nonmanual workers earning less than two hundred and fifty pounds a year, while the Workmen's Compensation Act had a nonmanual remuneration limit of three hundred and fifty pounds a year. With reference to the Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act of 1936, the coverage was likewise increased to include after January 4, 1942, all nonmanual workers earning less than four hundred and twenty pounds a year (formerly two hundred and fifty pounds).

Voluntary contributors under the National Health Insurance scheme were entitled to benefits if earning less than two hundred and fifty pounds a year, but the recent act extended the coverage of voluntary contributors to all those earning less than four hundred and twenty pounds annually. It is significant to note also that if the total income from all sources of an exempt person exceeds four hundred and twenty pounds (formerly two hundred and fifty pounds) such a person, under the present act, is required to make his own arrangements for receiving medical treatment and attendance.

Provision was made also that the cost of medical benefits, the cost of administration by the insurance committees, and the administrative costs of the Minister of Labour (with reference to health insurance) were, after January 1, 1942, not to exceed fourteen shillings and sixpence a year per person entitled to medical benefits. Prior to the recent amendments, these costs were limited to thirteen shillings.

Out of each weekly health-insurance contribution the Minister of Labour now retains one penny and two-fifths of a penny (formerly one penny and one-tenth of a penny) in

¹ 4 & 5 George VI, c. 39 (1941) (*Great Britain Statutes at Large, 1941*, pp. 327-39).

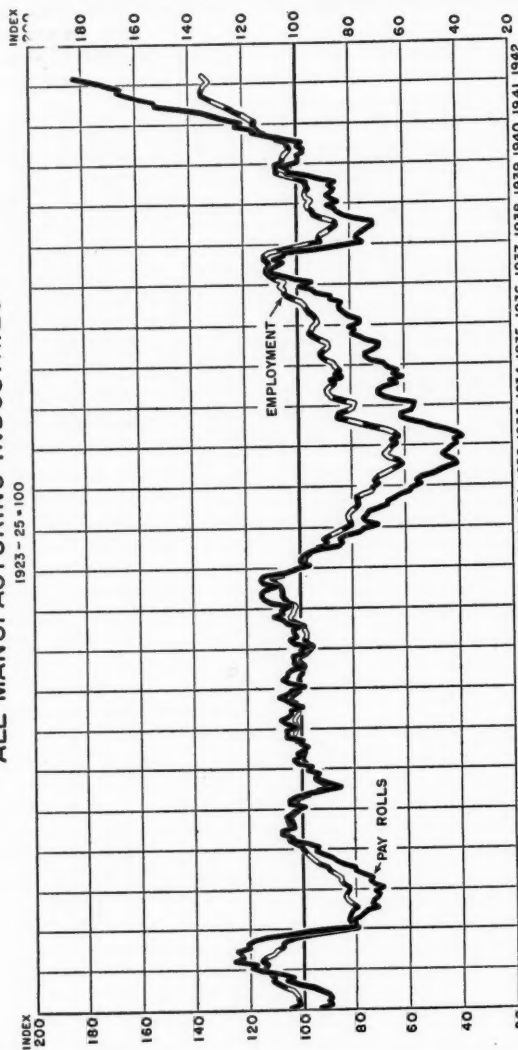
the case of men and nineteen-twentieths of a penny (formerly four-fifths of a penny) in the case of women. This provision went into effect after December 31, 1941, and these funds are, among other things, to be used for distribution to the approved societies on the basis of their reserve values. The total sum to be apportioned to the approved societies was thus increased, and any balance now bears interest at three and one-half per centum instead of three per centum as formerly.

Lastly, the Minister of Labour was given the power to adapt the National Health Insurance Acts, 1936-39, and the Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions Acts, 1936-40, to wartime conditions. With the approval of the Treasury, the Minister may modify or suspend these acts, but this power does not authorize him to alter the rates of benefits, contributions, or pensions. Neither does this provision authorize him to alter the proportion of funds required for defraying the cost of benefits and the expenses for administration. Regulations of the Minister, issued under this provision, may be retroactive to September 3, 1939, and all such regulations must be presented to both Houses of Parliament. If an address is presented to His Majesty by either House requesting that the regulation be annulled, then his Majesty in Council may proceed to annul the regulation. If the regulations are not annulled, they continue in force as long as the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1939, continues in force unless each House of Parliament resolves that a regulation should continue after the expiration of the above act, in which case the regulation shall continue in force accordingly.

E. M. SUNLEY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK
WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

EMPLOYMENT AND PAY ROLLS ALL MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

ADJUSTED TO 1939 CENSUS OF MANUFACTURES

BOOK REVIEWS

Psychological Effects of War on Citizen and Soldier. By R. D. GILLESPIE, M.D. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1941. Pp. 251. \$2.75.

The only instrument for the study of the human mind is the human mind itself. At best it is a vulnerable tool. In a world under fire it is inevitable that its clarity and precision should be even more subject to the distorting influences inherent in its dual role as subject and object. This book must, therefore, to a considerable extent, be looked upon as a victim of its time.

The author is physician for psychological medicine, Guy's Hospital, London, and wing commander, Royal Air Force. The topic, while exquisitely pertinent, has been made the overburdened companion of imperfect observations and unclear conclusions on a general theory of the neuroses. Though it is obvious that the author attempts to adhere to the holistic conceptions of psychobiology, he succeeds only verbally and then only at times. His leading tendency is toward the expression of a deeply felt body-mind dualism. Even the clinical wisdom displayed in his sensitive chapter on the "Social Factors" does not outweigh this tendency.

"There is still room in these days for something of the old notion of deficit of energy." Those who "are so lacking in energy as to be popularly regarded as congenital neurasthenics" present a type of psychopathy "in which the original energy endowment is low." Following severe experiences, "or on a constitutional, and not complex-determined basis . . . such reactions are not in response to psychological occurrences but rather the result of physiological processes which express themselves in psychological terms." There is no better example of the implicit dichotomy of the author's point of view than this insistence on "constitutional" versus "complex-determined." He does admit the occasional existence of the latter type of factor. However, his archaic use of this term in the designation of a genetic class exemplifies the lack of organic unity in his theoretical position. The ancient concept of "constitutional psychopathic inferiority" is revived and largely exempted from scrutiny according to the criteria of dynamic psychiatry.

Discussing the changing form of the psychoneuroses, he asks: "Who nowadays sees much of 'mucous colitis'?" "'Nervous exhaustion' was another idol of the market place," he says. These diseases, he asserts, existed because "the patient who is both suggestible and anxious to please," pondered and obliged the doctors who, "having conceived a theory and being anxious to fit clinical observations to it," inquired for the "component symptoms." Nevertheless, in the reviewer's experience, mucous colitis, psychogenically determined, is still

prevalent enough, and the author himself has broken nervous exhaustion into at least four categories (p. 17) as he finds it today. Dissociation was Morton Prince's Pygmalion; *grande hystérie* was Charcot's; the commoner hysterical disabilities are the babies of the newspapers. "In other words, the form of the illness is to be conceived of as a product of inner factors" and "factors imposed by the environment." The theories of the observer "being an important part of the environment, it follows that changes in the theory and form [of illness] will be closely related." Therefore, we are to presume that swelling and cyanosis of extremities were produced to please the French neurologists of the last war whose theory of "reflex paralysis" was indeed a mistaken one. And hysterical reactions are lacking in the bombed cities of England because the modern psychiatrist does not believe in them!

The treatment of the "Historical Changes in the Apparent Content" of the neuroses is similar. "The discovered content . . . has varied with the theory." It would take but little perusal of the literature of psychoanalysis of the last ten years to discover that precisely the reverse is true.

Space and the particular interests of this journal do not permit an extensive discussion of the chapter on constitutional factors. Suffice it to say that with unconvincing support from meager statistics the author leans heavily in the direction of these factors as definitive in the determination of neurotic illness. An example of the type of evidence he submits is seen in a sampling of 63 cases of "anxiety states" from 106 parents. "Twenty-one per cent of the parents . . . have themselves anxiety states, while 5.6 per cent have depressive psychoses." Where, then, we must ask, did the patients whose parents (73.4 per cent) did not have anxiety states or depressive psychoses get their anxiety states? His clinical evidence is equally precarious. He cites, for instance, the early incidence of compulsive traits in children of obsessive-compulsive parents, without considering the role of the training carried on by such parents from the earliest days of the child's life and, more important, the fact that such early compulsions tend to disappear spontaneously, or under psychotherapy, or when separation from the parents is effected.

The excellent chapter on "Social Factors in Psychoneuroses" is somewhat marred by defects similar to those found in the chapter on "Constitutional Factors." The statistical samples are inadequate, and dynamically revealing inter-correlations are lacking. This is sharply in contrast to the topical discussions, which demonstrate a sense for the psychobiologically significant which is not found elsewhere. It is in fact startling to note the distance between the author's conception of the problem of apathy and his general theoretical position.

An observation that is not taken into account is the item "listlessness." . . . This is most easily attributed to poorness in nutrition . . . but it is possible that it is mainly psychologically produced, and that it represents apathy as a result of frustration. What suggests this reflection is the occurrence of a cognate phenomenon in the long unemployed and in certain war neuroses after long and repeated exposure to danger.

The patient does not complain of this symptom. It is observed in him and it is not necessarily the precursor of psychoneurotic symptoms of the usual kind. . . . It is as bad to deprive a man of work as it is to deprive him of food. . . . Activity is a function of the total organism. The organism that is not active is half-way to death.

But "work is not activity only." It is useful function "within the framework of a community." This converts the simple impulse toward "activity" into the "work sentiment."

He goes on as follows:

It is possible that we have not paid enough attention to the simple importance of activity and the consequences of its continual inhibition. . . . Psychiatry has tended to overlook its [apathy's] existence because the symptoms are of a negative rather than of a positive nature . . . resulting from the constant thwarting of simple desires or even simple activity, or of continual threats to thwart an instinct. . . . It is possible that if the psychiatrist had extended his observations to the preclinical changes . . . he might have been more useful in warning politicians of the threat to civilization contained in the thwarting of the activity instinct in such large sections of the world's population, leading in one and the same country at one time to the acquiescent symptom of apathy and at the other to delinquency on an international scale.

One is tempted to go further into the author's fine discussion of this problem under the heading of "Effects of Unemployment." Unfortunately, only the barest mention of items can be made: the apathetic victims of unemployment are predisposed to war neuroses; "after the war we may expect a dangerous restlessness or equally dangerous apathy in a large section of the community unless we are as energetic in organizing for peace as we have to be in organizing for war"; in the frustration of the urge to useful activity "within a community" the "sentiment of self-esteem is thwarted"; the result of thwarting of the "work sentiment" is "depression followed by apathy and then sometimes by psychoneurosis or restlessness and irritability followed by rebellion. . . . The 'life plan' of the individual is destroyed."

Similar treatment of the problems of competitiveness, possessiveness, social insecurity, and urban isolation round out the discussion of "Social Factors" in a manner thoroughly refreshing after the bareness of the previous chapters.

The most striking thing about the effects of the war on civilian population has been the rarity of mental pathology. The present report concurs on this point with the statements of others. "The patients who do come . . . present mainly the same problems as in peacetime." A word of caution has been recently heard in some English medical journals regarding this optimistic state of affairs. But the author fails to apply his own thought to the possibility that the psychiatrists may be overlooking consequences which do not appear promptly as clinical symptoms but which lurk as "preclinical changes" which may have their ultimate effect on the total character organization.

The observations on children are similarly optimistic. The author has "had difficulty in collecting instances of 'bomb fright' " among them. The problems

presented seem to be the usual ones with the usual incidence rate but brought into sharper focus by the facts of the emergency. As has been many times reported, the significant traumatic instance is the hasty separation from parents, and the main difficulties emerge from bad billeting incidental to the critical concern for securing shelter and physical care without skilled personnel or time to make psychologically correct placements. The more satisfactory adjustments have been made by keeping together family groups of older children or of mothers and younger children. Hostels have been found advisable for children with previously existing behavior problems. The urgent necessity for rationally considered placement plans is the outstanding lesson to be learned.

Regarding the "Psychoneuroses in the Fighting Forces" the author again makes clear the importance of predisposition as the leading factor in their incidence. Between one-half and two-thirds of those who break down have a stigmatic history. "Psychotherapy and treatment generally are of little value. . . . The fundamental truth remains that in a fighting force the elimination of the unsuitable man . . . at the earliest possible state is all important."

The chapter on morale is a sentimental statement of the author's own understandably earnest feelings and contains little that can be called useful in a scientific approach to the problem. The closing chapter on "Human Relationships in the Postwar World" is rather naively trustful of the possibilities of some kind of moral rehabilitation through rational education. It is the expression of the hopes of a man of good will who does not really know the answer to them.

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A History of Medical Psychology. By GREGORY ZILBOORG, M.D., in collaboration with GEORGE W. HENRY, M.D. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1941. Pp. 606. \$5.00.

Dr. Zilboorg's history of medical psychology comprises all but the last two chapters of this book. As scientist-historian he sets himself the task of enlightening the age-old "secret that is mental disease." He endeavors not to justify our present orientation but instead to understand it, not to exalt our present insights in comparison with our past ignorance but instead to contemplate them critically. With the purpose of recording "the living psychology of living people" throughout the ages, the author discards the emotional detachment of the traditional historian. Of this he says: "A historian can ill afford to review the events of the human past with the cold eye of an observer unconcerned and unaroused. Events are the results of human drives, passions. They are charged with the intensity of human needs, of anxieties, loves, hatreds, ambitions and failures. . . . If proper enjoyment and enlightenment are to be derived from the reading and writing of history, one must mobilize, not anesthetize, one's feelings,

revitalize all strivings, even weaknesses and passions." With the theme that man makes history and also is made by it, he presents the history of mental disease from the standpoint that it has determined history even as it has been determined by it. In these irrational times analysis of the past from this point of view yields inferences which are not unbelievably bizarre.

Dr. Zilboorg's observations are most convincing when they deal with those periods which lend themselves to this type of analysis. Consequently the Greek and Roman periods are less effective than certain subsequent ones. The decline in science, the persecution of scientific thought, the decline of learning and reason in favor of superstition which came with the breakdown of the Roman Empire yield material for two chapters entitled "The Great Decline" and "The Restless Surrender to Demonology." He shows wherein a demonological view of the human mind emerged as the natural science of the ancient world was replaced by demonological astronomy and chemistry. The author's study of the ruling opinions of the Dark Ages together with the content of the following chapter on "The Blows of the Witches' Hammer" demonstrates the effectiveness of his approach. It seems clear that only a psychological interpretation and an analysis of primary emotional motives will clarify a period in which reason has been submerged by primitive strivings.

The chapter entitled "The First Psychiatric Revolution" depicts the period of enlightenment in which the works of the humanist Vives (1492-1540) and the physician Weyer (1515-88) brought a rudimentary return to the ancient emphasis on natural science as an approach to the understanding of mental disease. The subsequent period from Weyer through Pinel (d. 1826) is characterized as a "period of reconstruction" in that it saw a progressive development of the natural-science method within medicine and psychology. One of the most convincing examples of the effectiveness of the application of modern psychological thinking to the writing of history occurs in the author's analysis of the motives which prevent man from facing himself as an object of scientific study, thus retarding the progress of the mental sciences.

According to Dr. Zilboorg, modern psychiatry began with the nineteenth century in the work of Pinel, a period marked by great progress in the understanding of disease in general. The furtherance during this period of the earlier work of François Bayle (1622-1709) in the discovery of syphilitic etiology proved to be another milestone in that it strengthened the trend toward exploring mental disease as brain disease, which culminated in the contribution of Emil Kraepelin (1855-1926). The second psychiatric revolution came at the close of the nineteenth century, following a period in which some physicians were beginning to find limitations in the concept that all mental illness was symptomatic of brain disease; it advanced the idea that mental illness must be regarded in terms of emotion and conflict. The work of Charcot and others in exploring hysterical phenomena laid the groundwork for the pre-eminent revolutionist, Sigmund Freud. It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to this

chapter on "The Second Psychiatric Revolution." The author's picture of the transition from a scientific period in which the student, with rare emotional detachment, had been interested in humanity rather than in man to a period in which he became ready "to recapture the study of man as man and not as a nameless pawn in a sociological process" is brilliantly written. It shows medical psychology as part and parcel of a changing culture in which the demand for recognition of man as he is was being expressed in the art, literature, and philosophy of the times. "The need for freedom of expression, the protest against a culture which seemed to be forgetting the human personality was reflected with equal force" in the field of medical psychology as in "Shaw's *Candida*, in Ibsen's *Nora*, in Nietzsche's rebellion against Christianity and in Dostoevski's mystic struggle with God." The author states, "It therefore does not seem accidental that this particularly restless period should have concentrated its attention on the inner life of man and his primordial drives."

In discussing present-day medical psychology, the author stresses its importance as a revolutionizing science which leads us to scrutinize and revise concepts long held unthinkingly. His thinking presents a strong argument for the use of psychological insights as a guide in understanding and directing the affairs of men, for it would seem that psychological interpretation and an analysis of primary emotional motives are eminently suited to a period in which primitive emotional strivings have again become ascendent.

Dr. Henry's two supplementary chapters deal competently with mental disease and mental-hospital care. One finds here a historical evaluation of the significant struggle which finally led to the establishment of psychiatry as a specialty by differentiating organic mental disorders from functional disorders. It traces also the concomitant transformation of the asylum into a hospital. (This richly documented work presents a wealth of information throughout, as well as imaginative consideration of the whole development of medical psychology in relation to the ever changing and complex society which living men create and experience. It is an invaluable contribution to the field of social welfare.)

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War and Crime. By HERMANN MANNHEIM. London: Watts & Co., 1941. Pp. ix+208. 10s. 6d.

The author of this interesting book is lecturer on criminology at the London School of Economics and Political Science and was formerly judge of the Court of Criminal Appeal and professor of criminal law in Berlin. The *London Times* recently spoke of Dr. Mannheim as "a foreign jurist of great experience, who could bring a trained but detached eye to bear upon the institutions of the people among whom he is spending his exile"; and the *Times* expressed appreciation of the "brilliance of his judgments and generalizations." This is a just appraisal of the author's authoritative position in his chosen field.

Some basic questions regarding the contrast between war and crime are briefly discussed:

Crime is an individual action, war a group action; crime is always a wrong, war is wrong only according to circumstances. There is, secondly, the question of how far the various factors likely to produce crime may also be held responsible for the causation of wars, or vice versa. Closely related to this is the further question of how war is itself a causative factor of crime. Finally, there is the attitude of existing International Law towards the distinction between just and unjust wars, and with certain analogies between war aims and aims of punishment.

Dr. Mannheim discusses the question whether "wrong methods for the formulation of peace terms" may be responsible for later wars. The following comment is significant:

[It] is also well known to us from the way in which the Treaty of Versailles, and in particular its War Guilt Clause, has been exploited by Hitler to justify all his breaches of international law. This clause, to a certain extent, has had similar effects upon the German mind as humiliating, stigmatizing methods of punishment—corporal punishment, for instance—frequently have upon the criminal: instead of preventing relapse into crime they may provoke it. There hardly exists a finer psychological analysis of the effects which the imposition of the war guilt clause has had than that given by Sir Arthur Slater in his recent book, *Security: Can We Retrieve It?* (1939), pp. 321 et seq. As he points out, "the terms of the Versailles Treaty would never have evoked in post-war Germany the intense bitterness of feeling which they did if they had been imposed simply as the penalty of defeat and not as a punishment inflicted on a legally condemned criminal."

There are some important chapters dealing with such subjects as "Causes of War and Causes of Crime," "Just Wars and War Crimes," and "War as Punishment." There is also a careful review of the conditions with regard to crime in England and other countries from 1914 to 1918, with a chapter on "The Outlook for the Present War."

Readers in this country will be interested in Dr. Mannheim's comments on juvenile delinquency in relation to evacuation. He thinks, however, that it is not only the evacuated child who has become exposed to increased risks of falling into delinquency during the war:

Of his comrades who have stayed behind, not less than between 400,000 and 500,000 are stated to have received no schooling at all during the first four months of the war. This has obviously meant so much the more time for mischief, with increased facilities for it owing to the absence of fathers and other restraining influences. As a consequence, figures which have been published from evacuation and neutral areas seem to show substantial rises in juvenile delinquency, due to the absence of compulsory school attendance or effective substitutes. Of late the position appears to have changed for the better.

This is an authoritative and interesting book.

E. A.

Financing the War: Symposium. Philadelphia: Tax Institute, 1942.
Pp. 357. \$2.50.

The choice of proper methods for financing the war should be of vital concern to all social workers. Now that the federal government has assumed the major part of the responsibility for welfare financing, welfare will be forced increasingly to compete with war for federal funds. Furthermore, wartime fiscal policy will be an important determinant of levels of living. Although it is useless to hope for improved levels of living during a war, it is reasonable to expect that efforts will be made to safeguard minimum living standards. Regressive taxes, falling with heavy burden upon the low-income group, cannot be the main reliance of the government for funds if considerations of equity are to prevail. Dependence upon taxation rather than borrowing and careful selection of tax sources are significant weapons in the fight against inflation, the most serious present threat to levels of living.

An eminent tax economist recently said, "Stupendous as is the sum required for our 1943 war budget, the money can be raised more easily than wisely." Social workers will find that *Financing the War*, a recent publication of the Tax Institute, sheds considerable light upon this vexing problem of the wise procurement of funds for our unprecedented budget.

Less than a week before the attack upon Pearl Harbor, the Tax Institute conducted a two-day symposium on national defense and taxation. Although the papers presented were written in pre-war days, they constitute a realistic appraisal of war-finance possibilities and probabilities. *Financing the War* describes the amount, character, and implications of federal fiscal activity. The effects of particular taxes, such as the excess-profits tax, are analyzed. Several excellent papers deal with the control of inflation through revenue policies. Possibilities of adjustments to ease the impact of war taxes are outlined. War-finance policy and practice in England and Canada are described. Two papers are devoted to the tariff and international relations.

This timely volume is characteristic of most symposiums in that there is some repetition and some disagreement. Although variations in viewpoint on a subject of such complexity are natural among eighteen experts, amateurs in public finance may well be confused by such disagreement. For example, one paper implies that a proper tax program may prevent the necessity for undesirable direct price controls and rationing. Other authors more realistically contend that revenue policies, monetary and credit controls, and direct price controls and rationing must not be regarded as alternatives; that an attack on inflation demands intelligent, co-ordinated, vigorous action on all fronts and with all available instruments. One paper argues that the form in which government obligations are issued and the purchasers who acquire them are of little significance. Another emphasizes the necessity of making government bonds non-negotiable and of selling them to individuals rather than to banks.

Social workers would argue that certain nonmilitary expenditures are essen-

tial even in a war economy. They would disagree, therefore, in part, with the suggestion in one paper that a necessary reduction in nondefense expenditures should be governed by the following principles:

First, government expenditures arising from the absence of full employment (in other words, expenditures designed primarily to promote employment or to provide relief for the unemployed) should be abandoned. Second, government investment which does not contribute to the war effort (e.g., the building of post offices or nondefense highways) should be curtailed for the same reasons that private investment should be curtailed. Third, public civilian consumption (e.g., provision of recreation) must be reduced in the same manner that private civilian consumption is reduced.

One of the most important battles of the home front is the fight against inflation. In this fight social workers should be active. If *Financing the War* were required reading, it would contribute greatly to public understanding of this highly important field of government finance.

MARY SYDNEY BRANCH

Youth and the Future: General Report of the American Youth Commission, American Council on Education. Washington, D.C., 1942. Pp. 296. \$2.50.

In 1935 the American Council on Education appointed what has since been known as the American Youth Commission, composed of distinguished leaders in the field of education, business, and sociology. The original chairman, up to the time of his death, was Newton D. Baker, of Cleveland, who was succeeded by Mr. Owen D. Young. The members of this Commission were persons justly prominent in the life of America, and up to the time they signed this report, they might well have been called conservative in their opinions.

The present volume sums up the findings of the Commission and its investigators, most of which findings have been published from time to time and have received considerable circulation—notably, the study by Dr. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*, and the little book by the first executive director, Dr. Homer P. Rainey, entitled *How Fare American Youth?* It is somewhat unfortunate that after seven years' laborious research and study this Commission was obliged to issue its final report at a time when the nation is at war; but they have sought to point out the fact that the future of our youth is a continuing problem and will be more than ever urgent when the war is over.

Whether one agrees with its conclusions and recommendations, this is an important book. Every teacher, every social worker, everyone who realizes the vital necessity of adequate utilization of the leisure time of youth, in fact, every parent and citizen should read and ponder it for himself. For myself, I read the volume with a growing feeling of despair and uneasiness. Have we arrived at a point where youth has become a problem? Are we witnessing the passing of an era? Is the period during which individual enterprise, thrift, industry,

and self-reliance have made our country the richest and most cultured nation in the world about to come to an end? How much of that which was old and fine in the early American traditions must pass? To what extent must it be succeeded by a paternalistic, regimented, subsidized, or synthetized government for the people, to the people, and on the people, rather than by the people and with the people?

The book is in four parts. It is quite apparent that Part I, entitled "Employment Opportunity for Youth," is the part to which the Commission gave its most enthusiastic attention. The thesis expounded in this part is that every young person who attains the age of sixteen and does not care to pursue his formal education further must be provided with a job. The Commission recognizes the primary obligation of private industry to provide these work opportunities for young people, and it discusses in chapter v some of the economic expedients which might be adopted to increase opportunities for private employment, such as wider use of savings, development of foreign trade, and a concerted industrial expansion. The responsibility of the government on all levels is considered, the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration is highly extolled, and many of the problems of planning and co-ordination of work with and for youth, by the government, are discussed.

One cannot quarrel with the general thesis that our youth should be prepared for dignified, sustaining labor and that industry should expand for that purpose. It is with the final and dogmatic assertion of the Commission that when private industry fails the government (and, presumably, this means the government at Washington) must provide work for every young person that there will be disagreement. The Commission is not so definite in describing the *modus operandi* of this plan, and this reviewer cannot but feel that in spite of the distinguished character of those signing the report this recommendation is not justified even in view of our recent unemployment crisis. Just how the government can contrive to provide productive and remunerative work for people, without reference to the needs of the consuming public, or its ability to pay for such work, is not adequately explained in this volume. Nor do we have a very satisfying statement as to the effect upon the young people in the matter of incentives, nor as to how our boys and girls of a generation hence will approach the problem of self-support and a career, secure in the knowledge that the government will take care of them if they cannot get a job for themselves.

Part II discusses other basic problems of youth, including education, occupational adjustment, marriage and the home, health and fitness, delinquency and youthful crime, and citizenship. It contains a long "lament for the living." These doleful statistics have been distributed by the American Youth Commission and others on many occasions: there are a million youth not in school; guidance and occupational work is almost nonexistent in our schools; the healthy condition of marriage and the raising of a family are being unduly postponed; an astonishingly large percentage of our youth fall short of the best standards

of health and fitness; delinquency and crime are concentrated in the ages of adolescence; a considerable proportion of our young people, especially in large families and in the rural areas, are living at a standard far below that of healthful subsistence. This reviewer has always found it difficult to reconcile these statements with other statistics that have likewise been freely circulated: America, with 6 per cent of the world's population, owns 45 per cent of the wealth and 70 per cent of the motor cars in the world; one in every six has a telephone, and one in every three and a half has a radio; the conveniences of our modern culture have been distributed through city and rural areas as in no other country in the world; there are nine times as many American children going to high school as at the turn of the century; in two generations, the death rate from most diseases, including tuberculosis, typhoid, and diphtheria, have been reduced to the vanishing-point; our young people have won more world-championships in athletics than all the rest of the world put together; and our wealth is more evenly distributed, as is evidenced by the one hundred and thirty-one million insurance policies and the forty-four million savings-bank accounts.

That there are problems of youth is undeniable, but, in most cases, they are the same problems that youth and adults have to face and should face together. The Commission does well to point out our shortcomings, but to this reviewer the mistake seems to be in assuming that the route which we have been following is the wrong route and must be abandoned. Certainly the material and cultural progress of America would neither indicate such to be the case nor justify the radical departure therefrom which the Commission recommends. A subsidized job for every youth, free school lunches for every child, support by the government of the children in large families, and state medicine are a few of the radical changes proposed by the Commission. These seem to be reversals in government and neighborhood policies, and many there will be who will question their wisdom.

In Part III the Commission discusses what action should be taken, in view of the emergency, by communities and by the state and federal governments. On page 243 the Commission suggests the calling of a conference by the President of the United States of all federal agencies and national private organizations. No mention is made of the fact that this exact thing has been done in each of the last four decades. Can it be possible that the great and influential White House Conference for Children in a Democracy, called in 1940, was not known to the Commission, or that the excellent program which it produced finds no place in its consideration of youth and the future?

If I cannot deny that I read this volume with growing despair and uneasiness, I must likewise confess that Part IV, entitled "Meaning for Life," which came from the brilliant pen of Dorothy Canfield Fisher, did much to restore my faith and optimism. Many of us will feel that Mrs. Fisher has put her finger on the real cause of the youth problem and that her contribution transcends in importance that of all the rest of the volume. As a matter of fact, I do not quite

see how she could have written this chapter and still have been satisfied to sign the report. Certainly, there are grave inconsistencies between her eloquent statement and the main body of the report. For example, chapter v stresses the absolute need for wage-paying employment, whereas on page 270 and again on page 288 Mrs. Fisher deplores the attitude which demands wages at the expense of the opportunity for a fuller and richer life. She says that it is not lack of money which has disorganized our young people but too much of it. She does not try to pull rabbits out of the economic hat, but she urges schools, leisure-time agencies, and parents to set the example of a richer and more satisfying life. It may be enhanced by her own great talent for writing, but certainly her plan for the future, described on page 272, has a much greater appeal than the picture painted by the Commission's report of our young people harnessed to routine and inescapable jobs.

Dorothy Canfield Fisher's chapter, in the judgment of this reviewer, redeems the volume. It does not propose the impossible or repudiate our democratic way of life, and it advances an inspiring and thrilling challenge to the people of America to lead their youth into a future that will have meaning for themselves and for their country.

SANFORD BATES

STATE BOARD OF PAROLE
NEW YORK CITY

Catholic Child Care in Nineteenth-Century New York. By GEORGE PAUL JACOBY. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1941. Pp. x+266. \$2.00.

In *Catholic Child Care* Father Jacoby looks back into the beginnings of an enormous development of Catholic institutions for children and gives a brief historical outline of the social situation in the New York of the 1800's. This leads to a description of many institutions and agencies, public and private, under Protestant and Catholic auspices, established to ameliorate the wretched condition of families and children in the port into which hundreds of thousands of immigrants, mostly Catholic, were arriving in unregulated numbers until the federal government took over responsibility. He expresses the Catholic philosophy of child care and training, which explains, and in a measure defends, the motives and methods, in the light of the times, of several of the large Catholic institutions which did a tremendous service to children in the nineteenth century but which lived to receive great criticism in the next century until the Catholic Charities of New York adapted them to its progressive plans.

Appended is an extensive bibliography of reports of public and private agencies, documents, books, magazine articles, and newspapers, and throughout the book there are numerous citations to sources of the materials.

Part I provides a background picture of the rapidly growing city of New York, unable to absorb the growing hordes of Europe's poor: the economic de-

pressions which made for unemployment and misery; the epidemics which spread disease and death in the overcrowded city, whose sanitary facilities did not keep pace with its growth; and the effects of the Civil War upon its already overburdened population. It outlines the efforts of state and city governments and of private Protestant agencies to provide help for the huge numbers of the destitute and gives special attention to the methods used to save the children from the misery, neglect, and vicious circumstances that surrounded them. It takes the reader briefly through the famous Yates Report of 1824 and the care of children in the poorhouses that resulted from its eloquent description of the evils of outdoor relief as it was administered at the time; through the survey of 1856, which described equally bad conditions in the poorhouses, and to the establishment of the State Board of Charities in 1867 and its work to improve the care of children, which led to the Children's Law of 1875, designed to remove all children from the poorhouses. There is a brief account of the fears with which some citizens of New York viewed the Catholic church, even before the hordes of European immigrants, mostly Catholic, arrived to complicate the social situation. There is also an account of the disabilities that law and social attitudes placed upon Catholics, who were relatively few in number outside of the newer immigrants; and there is the story of the concern of the Catholics over the misery and the lack of training of large groups of their people and of their determination that methods of help should not involve the loss of their religion implied in the services of some of the Protestant agencies.

In Part II Father Jacoby describes in some detail the development of four large Catholic institutions and, more briefly, the growth of several other institutions and agencies that were organized to provide care and training and to keep the religious faith of Catholic children. The history of each effort, frequently made at great sacrifice by groups of Catholic people, is that of a small beginning—often in a neighborhood class to inculcate “industry” among the neglected and sometimes homeless children—leading to the small “home” for children, followed by an immediate demand for the admission of more children in an overwhelming desire to save them from their vicious surroundings, and resulting in overcrowding, then enlargement, and, finally, expansion. The Catholic institutions used all the methods of the day, including education, industrial training, placement of children in homes, on farms, in jobs, or in indenture, and sending children to the West. They experienced all the reactions of the day—enthusiasm over the superiority of western placement versus apprehension over the protection of children sent too far away for knowledge of their well-being, interest in job placements versus objection to the exploitation to which the children were often subjected, indignation against parents whose children were brought into such desperate conditions of neglect versus the unwillingness to separate children permanently from parents whose poverty had forced the neglect of the children. The Catholic institutions were also hampered by the scarcity of proper Catholic homes in which to place chil-

dren, and, although one institution tried placement in Protestant homes, the general effect was to keep more children in the institutions until they could return to parents or relatives or become self-supporting. Meanwhile, Catholic immigrants arrived in New York in increasing numbers, and many met the same fate as their predecessors; their children needed care, and, as intake in the institutions always exceeded outgo, the institutions grew larger and larger.

Father Jacoby's study shows that the training of the children changed with the times. Industrial training expanded as more occupations developed, and not all girls were trained for domestic service, nor all boys for farm work. There were many problems over the care of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children together, and many efforts to group children by age, sex, and experience.

Some of the Catholic institutions were considered excellent for the day in which they were built. Father Jacoby cites reports of William P. Letchworth and Josephine Shaw Lowell, often in praise, sometimes in criticism (usually because of overcrowding and consequent lack of facilities for the children.)

The struggle of the Catholic institutions for public funds to help care for the children in the institutions is woven through the account of their development—the efforts of some to have public funds withdrawn from private institutions, and the contention of the institutions that they were providing far better care and training for the children at less cost to the public than public institutions could provide.

Father Jacoby's book is a contribution to the history of child care in New York in the nineteenth century. It presents vividly the confusion that resulted from the large Catholic immigration, the philosophy behind the large development of Catholic institutions, the problems they produced, the criticisms they evoked; and it explains the motivation of the Catholic group struggling to provide care and training and to preserve the religious heritage of thousands of Catholic children in a situation that was generally overwhelming.

FLORENCE L. SULLIVAN

U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON, D.C.

One Hundred Years of Probation, 1841-1941, Part I: Probation in the United States, England, and the British Commonwealth of Nations. By N. S. TIMASHEFF. ("Fordham University Studies: Social Science Series," No. 1.) New York: Fordham University Press, 1941. Pp. vi+88. \$1.50, paper.

This monograph by a member of the sociology faculty of Fordham University is a compressed review of some of the developments in probation in the United States, in England, and in the British Commonwealth, presented from

the sociologists' viewpoint. It is to be followed later by a similar survey of the development of probation in Europe, Latin America, and parts of Asia and Africa.

The chapter divisions of this study may be described as falling roughly under these three headings: (1) The roots and general backgrounds of the probation concept; (2) early probation in the United States, England, and the British Commonwealth; and (3) later developments in these same areas. Perhaps more adequate continuity would have been obtained by treating the areas studied as separate entities, utilizing a geographical division rather than the chronological one employed. This comment may seem somewhat arbitrary, but it is the reviewer's opinion that the suggested change would have provided greater coherence in the presentation.

The author was perhaps overly conscious that he was writing in the year of the John Augustus Centennial. Although Mr. Augustus is usually referred to as "the first probation officer" (and in a sense he may have been) one questions whether even the current emphasis on Mr. Augustus' work justifies the author's statement: "The decisive advance made by Mr. Augustus was that of adding supervision . . ." (p. 7). According to common belief, a decade or so before Mr. Augustus began his work in the Boston police courts, probation, including supervision, was being used in the Boston Municipal Court, a court of general criminal jurisdiction.

Students of the administrative aspects of probation will regret that Professor Timasheff neglects so many problems in this important area, and one is impressed unfavorably by the author's occasional interjection of hopeful generalities. Although the following statement may have sociological significance, certainly it is unrealistic from the standpoint of administration.

Probation in the United States was transformed from a local institution applied in different forms in a few states, into a national institution recognized by the legislation of all states and territories, as well as by federal legislation, under the pressure of the juvenile court movement [p. 44].

Probation may be a national institution sociologically, but administratively it is today a highly local and highly irresponsible legal device, seldom attaining a standard of treatment commensurate with its possibilities.

The style of writing is lucid and scholarly, and the use of citations and footnotes is adequate. Perhaps the deficiencies of this monograph may be explained by the difficult task of treating such a large-scale subject in so few pages. The fact that there are comparatively few treatises of this kind would tend to make this a worth-while contribution, but there is still need for a mature, thoughtful account of the development of probation, possibly in the manner of Blake McKelvey's contribution (*American Prisons*) to the prison field.

FRANK T. FLYNN

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, 1941.
New York, 1941. Pp. 205. \$2.00.

The 1941 *Proceedings* include all the important papers and discussions that were presented at the General Sessions. Among the interesting papers of these sessions is that of William J. Schroeder on the "Relationship of National Agencies' Programs to Local Community Organizations." The thesis is developed that national agencies are extensions of the interests of the local communities and are expressions of a desire to meet a problem through unified action. This topic is further elaborated upon and discussed critically by four representatives of national and local agencies. These papers demonstrate the diversity of Jewish life and the difficulties encountered in evolving democratic machinery for relating organized national and local efforts on the behalf of Jews in this country and abroad.

A stimulating paper by Kurt Peiser, "The Place of Mergers in Community Plans," will be of interest to all social workers and particularly to those in the child-care field. The paper treats of the following: factors that make mergers desirable, procedures involved in effecting mergers to make them communally significant, the hazards of effecting mergers, and criteria for determining the value of mergers. The writer concludes, "Mergers are far from a perfect solution to our communal ills. They are merely one more mechanism in sound community planning designed to improve service to clients and advance the interests of the community at large."

As in previous *Proceedings*, the subject of refugees receives due consideration in this volume. The problem has, however, become greater and more aggravated since the war. Accounts given by Joint Distribution Committee representatives—Moses W. Beckelman, "Polish Refugees Eastward Bound," and Joseph J. Schwartz, "Jewish Relief Picture in Central and Western Europe"—portray the plight of five and one-half million European Jews and the attempts on the part of Jewish communities throughout the world to alleviate the suffering of their fellow-men. The writers conclude that because of its magnitude the problem of refugees cannot be met by private philanthropic efforts. American social workers, who will undoubtedly be called upon to make sacrifices in our present national crisis, will be inspired by the descriptions of the heroic tasks performed by some European social workers. These workers chose to remain at their posts and go on with their work in the face of inevitable danger to their very lives.

Specific evidence that the National Conference met at a time when our country was in a state of emergency is Frank L. Weil's discussion of "Jewish Social Welfare in a National Defense and Emergency Situation." He describes the program of the Jewish Welfare Board, which is a member of the U.S.O. With the extension of its Army and Navy welfare work, the Board's plans call for a group worker, a case worker, and a community-organization representative for every locality where a staff of three full-time workers is needed. Mr. Weil sees the U.S.O. providing "the instrumentality whereby the Jews of America, func-

tioning through the Jewish Welfare Board, can make their contributions, along with their fellow-citizens of other faiths, in sustaining the morale of the men who wear the uniform and the men and women who provide the implements of defense."

The functional fields of family care, child care, vocational service, care for the aged, etc., were for the first time discussed in institutes instead of formal papers. The reports of these institutes retain the dynamics of discussions and group thinking and are superior to the condensed summaries of the formal papers published in previous years. Particularly valuable professional contributions to current thinking and practice are the summaries of the institutes on child care. The subjects considered are: "The Case Work Process in Intake and Allocation," "Case Work Services during the Period of Placement," and "Termination as an Outgrowth of the Case Work Process."

LEON H. RICHMAN

BELLEFAIRE AND JEWISH CHILDREN'S BUREAU
OF CLEVELAND

Color, Class and Personality. By ROBERT L. SUTHERLAND. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942. Pp. 135. \$1.25.

Although announced as a summary of the American Youth Commission's series of studies of personality development in Negro youth, Dr. Sutherland's report really interprets and integrates their findings into a comprehensive whole and suggests practical measures for implementation. These studies were made in various sections of the country; but all agreed that the Negro in the United States occupies a castelike position in relation to the white majority and that, although there are degrees of adherence to the caste system in various geographical areas, the fact is inescapable anywhere in the United States that "being a Negro does make a difference." A further equally significant factor influencing personality development of Negro youth is the class system within the race in which the striving for upward mobility is intensified because of complete blocking of egress from the caste position.

Special bitterness and disillusion characterize the reaction of these youth to wartime emphasis on national unity, since the realization is forced upon them that not even in a period of emergency can they hope fully to share the "American Dream." In "learning to be black in a white world" Negro boys and girls experience the feeling of being shut out of the main stream and early acquire ways of adjustment which necessarily affect personality. Some of these patterns, taught by parents and others, are evident in behavior intended to dodge caste barriers, such as passing for white, avoidance of contacts with whites, and withdrawal from the larger community as much as possible. Some meet the deprivation of complete participation by becoming race leaders who make a business of race consciousness. Others compensate by various techniques of striking back under the mask of servility, clowning, or religious resignation.

These behavior patterns are the more pronounced when color values in the Negro group itself are such that a premium is placed on lightness of skin.

Part II suggests practical measures possible of adoption, though some—such as efforts to change the stereotypes by which the white majority frequently identify all Negroes—involve attacks on deeply imbedded culture patterns, which would yield very slowly, if at all. Other approaches, which seem more likely to yield positive results in the contemporary period, include proposals that existing organizations interested in realization of democratic ideals relate their programs to the needs and problems of this minority group; that use of Negro specialists in various fields be increased so that their success may demonstrate the Negro's ability to succeed according to traditional standards; that organizations interested in economic and community life "introduce new patterns of race relations within areas of their own influence." Especially timely, in view of the federal government's increasing participation in public welfare administration, is Dr. Sutherland's demand that the government, as the largest employer, set sound and democratic personnel practices which will insure the welfare of thousands of Negro youth. Private organizations are urged to lend their support of such governmental practice by emulation and stimulation where government activity seems to lag.

The obvious necessity for limitation of this summary has required elimination of much supporting factual data, the lack of which affords basis for misinterpretation. One might question, for instance, that "never having been in jail" is a characteristic class claim of the middle and upper classes. However, the volume presents in clear, definite, and challenging manner the problems of Negro youth, with suggested avenues of meeting them. While more is to be gained if the reading of it follows the reading of the individual area studies, this report alone is of such importance that it ought to be put on the reading list of every professional social worker.

INABEL BURNS LINDSAY

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

America's Own Refugees. By HENRY HILL COLLINS, JR. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. 323. \$3.00.

For a number of years the author of this book has occupied strategic positions in the federal government that have enabled him to observe at close range the problems of migratory labor. He was a code adviser with the Labor Advisory Board of the old N.R.A. Then he became a special assistant to the chief of the Soil Conservation Service, with assignments that took him to the important agricultural areas of the nation, and later he was an examiner in the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor. With these experiences as a background, he became, in the summer of 1941, the co-ordinator of field hearings of the House Committee Investigating the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens—popularly known as the Tolan Committee.

The Tolan Committee assembled a vast amount of material which was published about a year ago in eleven volumes. Mr. Collins realized that comparatively few people would plow through the tremendous mass of material in this report. He therefore set himself the task of summarizing the salient facts in brief compass and of presenting them in a manner that would enlist the interest of a wider public.

The results are both good and bad. The attempt to popularize has made for a self-conscious "literary" style that is not always pleasant. That the agricultural migrants follow the fruit crops is announced in the following terms: "Wherever cranberries bend their scarlet heads or blueberries lift their soft blue buttons; wherever strawberries, like basking kittens, turn their sprawling faces to the sun, or where raspberries or blackberries cling to their thorny stalks—there is the end of the trail for the wandering worker in the fields." The tale of the migrant is charged with drama. Undoubtedly the facile pen restrains itself with difficulty when confronted with such tempting material. But, in the opinion of this reviewer, much of the emotional writing about migrants has defeated its own purpose. The authors who have adopted this style undoubtedly desire to awaken the American people to the gravity of a serious social problem. In many cases they have aroused in their readers a suspicion that there is dearth of genuine substance in material which must be keyed to such a high emotional pitch in order to seem worthy of attention.

Nevertheless, the book does summarize a wealth of extremely important material. Not only does the author tell a great deal about the migrants themselves; he also goes into considerable detail with respect to the major causes of migrancy, including the mechanization of agriculture, soil erosion, the disorganized character of maritime employment, the seasonality of certain occupations, the exhaustion of resources, as in coal-mining areas, and the sharecropper system. In most instances he summarizes the case histories of individuals who have been driven into migrancy by these various economic developments.

Moreover, remedies are liberally suggested. In some cases, these remedies are very specific. Forty separate items are listed in the program suggested for the South. In other cases the plan suggested is in general terms. For example, the problem of the farmers who are "tractored out" is to be solved by "co-operation," the specific terms of which are not enumerated. "Many degrees of co-operation exist," says the author, "and it would be folly to blueprint in advance how much or how little might be necessary or desirable."

In the main the facts cited come from reputable sources and have the hallmark of authenticity. In a few cases the reviewer noted assertions that appear to rest upon inadequate documentation. For example, in speaking of the migration of Negroes to northern cities (p. 42), the author reports: "In Chicago alone, 50,000 negroes are said to have no permanent place of abode, but beg their meals at back doors or on the streets, and sleep in parks, hallways or already overcrowded apartments." Chicago has no cause to be proud of the conditions in

which her Negro population exists; but it is nevertheless not true that almost one-fifth of them live by begging.

WAYNE McMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Baltimore, 1870-1900: Studies in Social History. By CHARLES HIRSCHFELD. "Charities," pp. 133-60. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. 160. \$1.50, paper.

In this study Mr. Hirschfeld discusses the four factors that played such a large part in the growth of Baltimore in the latter part of the nineteenth century—namely, the growth of population, industry, public education, and charities. In his section on "Charities" the author has succeeded in giving a factual account of the changes in philosophy and organization of those agencies dealing with the problems of the poor during the period 1870-1900.

Mr. Hirschfeld points out that most of the charitable organizations in Baltimore in the 1870's were affiliated with churches or religious organizations and rarely did any more than dispense alms. In addition, the Catholics, Jews, and Friends had organized agencies to care for their coreligionists, and the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, which considered relief-giving secondary to preventive measures, actually was spending the bulk of its funds for direct relief.

The author then relates the effort of the Charity Organization Society to bring about order and co-operation in the work of the existing agencies. It put into practice its theory of work relief rather than direct relief but after the panic of 1893 reached the conclusion that real improvement would have to come through other avenues. Accordingly, the Society became active in the organization of the Instructive Visiting Nurses Association, the introduction of sewing in public schools, a compulsory school-attendance law, settlement work, the establishment of a juvenile court, and raising of the minimum age at which children might work.

The panic also brought about a change in the nature of the work of the A.I.C.P. In 1896 it declared its determination "to place the Association fully abreast of the leading philanthropic organizations in practical, intelligent and careful methods" (p. 150). Increased co-operation between the A.I.C.P. and the C.O.S. led to their merger in 1905 into the Federated Charities of Baltimore.

The author also records the interest of the C.O.S. in the municipal policy of charities, both city-owned and city-subsidized. In 1880 fifteen private institutions received \$100,000; in 1900 fifty-one were receiving \$277,000 (p. 152); in 1895 a commission was appointed by the mayor to survey the field of municipal charities. Their findings, which were substantially incorporated in the new charter of 1898, provided for the right of supervision and invested the city's agent with executive power (p. 154).

The period 1870-1900 is marked by the growth of many organizations with

definite leanings toward the encouragement of thrift and the provision of training and employment. "At the turn of the century, charity was something more than a simple religious act. The poor had evolved into a social problem, the solution of which lay not in almsgiving, but in an organized program of social work" (p. 158).

This chapter on "Charities" represents a successful effort to show the changed thinking with respect to combating the problems of destitution; the change from unorganized to organized charitable effort, with increased emphasis on educational and preventive methods to supplement direct relief.

ASSOCIATED JEWISH CHARITIES OF
BALTIMORE

ALBERT GOLDSTEIN

The Psychology of Social Movements. By HADLEY CANTRIL. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1941. Pp. xv+274. \$2.75.

One of the hopeful signs of increasing maturity in the social sciences is the extent to which writers on special problems start with an explanation of the concepts that have guided their thinking. This book is an excellent illustration of the tendency. Its first quarter is devoted to the development of an analytical scheme, which is then applied in turn to a lynching mob and to such diverse social movements as the kingdom of Father Divine, the Oxford Group, the Townsend Plan, and German National Socialism. Following the principle of scientific parsimony, as few concepts as possible have been employed, and they are presented with such clarity and readability as to be intelligible even to one who has little acquaintance with present-day psychological research.

Professor Cantril accepts as his basic hypotheses that the psychological explanation of social movements is to be found in the suggestibility of masses of people and that the conditions determining individual differences in suggestibility must therefore be established. He presents the individual as an active agent selecting from his cultural environment the standards of judgment, frames of reference, and attitudes which, interiorized, make up his mental context. There are wide variations, however, among individuals even in the same culture as to what attitudes are selected for introjection, the extent to which they are really understood and firmly integrated, and the intensity with which they involve the ego. With regard to motivation, Professor Cantril stresses, as most nearly adequate for his interpretation, the drive to maintain and enhance self-regard and the desire to find meaning in life and indicates the conditions that so often frustrate these drives and thus produce discontent. He describes the critical situation when an individual is confronted with a chaotic external environment which he wants to interpret and cannot. He chooses as the chief barrier to satisfying interpretation, and therefore as the chief condition for suggestibility, the lack of adequate mental context for the development of critical ability in dealing with such critical situations. This brief summary does not do justice to Pro-

fessor Cantril's carefully developed schematic framework and is intended only to indicate the ground covered.

The discussion of each of the social movements is prefaced by an account of its development, highly selective as to factual material and vividly told. The movement is then interpreted in terms of the needs of its adherents and the satisfactions which it brings to them. Autobiographical material is used to illuminate the personal impact of crises and their resolution.

The tests of such a conceptual scheme as Professor Cantril presents are whether it can be applied to a wide variety of real situations and whether the analysis deepens the reader's understanding of the phenomena studied. Both tests are passed successfully, especially with respect to the two religious movements and to Townsendism. While the analysis throws new light also on lynching and on the motivations of the very diverse groups who aided the rise to power of the National Socialist party, it leaves a stronger impression of unexplored areas in the psychology of both movements. Here a single type of analysis appears less adequate and parsimony seems more nearly synonymous with oversimplification. Perhaps the chief quarrel with Professor Cantril is over the title of his book. He would have disarmed all critics if he had substituted in it "a" for "the."

The book should be particularly interesting to social workers in that it summarizes in nontechnical and highly readable style a good deal of the thinking being done at the point where sociology, anthropology, and social psychology meet and because it presents a conceptual scheme emphasizing the cultural elements in human behavior unstressed ordinarily in psychoanalysis and psychiatry.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

MARY BOSWORTH TREUDLEY

BRIEF NOTICES

The Mobilization of the Home Front: A Report of the American Public Welfare Association. By ERIC H. BIDDLE. (Public Administration Service Publication No. 81.) Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1942. Pp. 47. \$0.60.

This very useful publication provides a brief account of the extraordinary organization of community forces achieved in England since the onset of the war. At numerous points the author suggests the way in which similar situations will probably have to be met in the United States as our war effort accelerates.

Mobilization of man-power in countries dedicated to the principle of maximum freedom for the individual presents numerous special problems. In England the program of unusual measures required to meet the emergency has been worked out in joint conferences in which those most vitally affected have participated. As a result, resistance to unaccustomed infringements on personal liberty has been negligible. By mid-1941, for example, there had been only thirty-two prosecutions for refusals to accept transfer

from one locale to another where labor was more urgently needed. The author believes that the strategy of thorough advance consultation explains the ease and good will with which temporary regimentation has been accepted.

In light of current discussions in Congress relative to the forty-hour week, some of the facts cited concerning hours and conditions of employment are of special interest. The Select Committee on National Expenditures is quoted to the effect that a correlation was found between overlong hours of work and absenteeism (unexcused absence from work). If a given industrial plant is to qualify as an "essential undertaking," and thus be reasonably assured of an adequate supply of labor, it must, among other things, satisfy the Ministry of Labour "that satisfactory provision is being made for the welfare of employees." Such provisions as these have proved their worth. In brief, the "coddling" of labor, so often lamented on both sides of the Atlantic, has clearly demonstrated on the production charts that provision of sanitary, health, and welfare services is perhaps the basic requirement in a program designed to accelerate production.

A useful appendix gives in brief outline the expansions in the social services that Britain has introduced in an effort to deal with personal and social dislocations due to war. Among these are increased social-insurance benefits and an enlargement of the categories of clients whose needs may be met by the centrally financed Assistance Board. This latter development includes aid to persons whose loss of income is due to the dislocations of war and, therefore, in view of the unwillingness of Congress to accept the President's plan for federal aid to workers displaced by plant conversion, merits thoughtful scrutiny in this country. Equally interesting are the changes in the Emergency Medical Service, originally designed to provide care for civilians injured by enemy action. Coverage has since been extended to some ten categories of persons, including evacuated mothers and children and transferred war workers. Financial recovery is expected from some of these classes, but for others the service is entirely free.

W. McM.

History of the United States Food Administration, 1917-1919. By WILLIAM C. MULLENDORE. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1941. Pp. xiv+399. \$4.50.

The Hoover Library has recently published the official history of the United States Food Administration. This history was written shortly after the close of the last war by Mr. Mullendore, a staff member of the Food Administration. The volume includes an introduction by Herbert Hoover, written in 1920.

As we once again face the task of assuring an adequate food supply to our own people, to our allies, and to the victims of aggression, the history of our efforts during the last war becomes of peculiar significance. Yet there is danger in following too closely the precedent of 1917-19. It would be as foolish to limit our food program to the methods then used as to send our 1918 army against Hitler's mechanized units. For example, reliance upon voluntary action to increase food production, to stabilize prices, and to reduce waste may have been sound policy for 1918, but the situation today demands more stringent measures, such as direct price controls and widespread rationing.

Mr. Mullendore summarizes the conditions affecting the United States food situation in 1917, discusses the organization and powers of the Food Administration, and

describes its program to encourage production, to conserve supply, and to control distribution of food products. The United States Food Administration serves as an interesting example of the possibilities of community organization. While policy was formulated by the central unit, state, county, and city food administrators carried out the program with the help of local advisory committees of farmers, consumers, and distributors. Their success was in large part due to the voluntary co-operation of the food trades, of housewives, and of farmers. Likewise the success of our present food program will depend upon the co-operation of every citizen.

Americans who now watch with heavy hearts appalling conditions of widespread starvation in war-torn and occupied countries will be glad to review in Mr. Hoover's introduction the work of the Belgium Relief Commission from 1914 to 1919. This Commission not only undertook the care of the destitute in occupied Belgium and France but also attempted to provide the rest of the population with necessary imports and to control the production and distribution of local foodstuffs. The work of feeding the starving children of Europe was continued after the war. We may expect a well-directed effort after this war to care for the starving abroad, but surely some method of help can be found now for those whose suffering will not wait for the aid of the post-war period.

M. S. B.

Postwar Planning in the United States. By GEORGE B. GALLOWAY. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1942. Pp. xi+158. \$0.60.

Planning is one area in which our country is at present suffering from no shortages. In fact, the multiplicity of agencies currently formulating plans in the hope of guiding us into a more tolerable post-war world has created the need for a volume such as this. More than one hundred organizations are engaged in the task. Hence the need to list them and to set forth the aspects of post-war development to which each is addressing itself.

The catalogue—for the volume is essentially that—is admirably adapted to serve its purpose: "to help us in our own planning and to avoid duplication of effort." Considerable information is given about each agency. If the organization has embarked upon a group of studies, the areas under consideration are listed. Material already published is also listed. Names of the responsible individuals and research workers are supplied.

Many of the agencies are concerned primarily with economic and political problems. Some, however, are studying post-war needs in the welfare field, as, for example, the Committee on Program Planning of the Federal Security Agency; the Federal Works Agency; the National Resources Planning Board; the Reemployment Division of the Selective Service System; and numerous others, such as the various state planning boards that operate under the general stimulus of the National Resources Planning Board.

In addition to an index classifying the agencies by fields of planning, there is an extensive bibliography. The director of the Fund promises in a foreword that "further editions will be published from time to time to help keep those interested in postwar reconstruction fully informed of the latest development in the field."

W. McM.

Delinquency Control. By LOWELL J. CARR. New York: Harper & Bros., 1941.

Pp. xiv+447. \$3.50.

This book is a comprehensive study of the problem of delinquency. It is arranged in five parts, with study questions for student use at the end of each chapter. These questions help the reader to determine if he has got the important points which the author wishes to convey.

Professor Carr has shown an interest not only in the sociological aspects of delinquency but also in the intensive treatment of the individual delinquent. His discussion of the treatment of the individual delinquent, the phase with which the reviewer is most conversant, shows that he has an understanding of the emotional needs of the dis-social child and a feeling for him. He appreciates the part played by the deep underlying anxiety and the denial of basic needs as motivating factors in delinquency. The discussion of probation is particularly good. The problem of prevention is discussed in detail and is given the consideration that it merits. He considers chiefly those methods of prevention of delinquency which are practical.

The book is recommended to case workers, particularly probation and parole officers, because of the reasonableness of the author's approach, his practicality, and the many workable suggestions that may help to lighten their burden of dealing with the delinquent. It is recommended also for all students of human behavior.

H. S. LIPPMAN, M.D.

AMHERST H. WILDER CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

Social and Economic Problems Arising Out of World War II: A Bibliography.

Compiled by DOROTHY CAMPBELL TOMPKINS. (Public Administration Service Publication No. 80.) Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1941.

Pp. vii+114. \$1.50.

This *Bibliography* is the third in a series prepared since the outbreak of the present emergency under the direction of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California and the Documents Division of the University Library. The list contains 922 titles, some of which are "omnibus" references that direct the reader to a single publication in which appear several reports or articles relating to a given subject. The range of topics included is very wide, and inevitably there is some overlapping. Only six titles are listed under "Social Work," for example, though many other titles scattered throughout the volume relate to this field, such as those on housing, social hygiene, disaster preparedness, etc. The references are to materials published in English in the period September, 1939—July, 1941. Two convenient indexes are included—one by subject, and the other by author and name.

W. McM.

An Analysis of the Attitudes of American Catholics toward the Immigrant and the Negro, 1825-1925. By JOHN C. MURPHY. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1940. Pp. x+158. \$2.00.

An honest, critical self-analysis is always refreshing and heartening. It is doubly so when the analysis comes from a member of a group or organization which has been

labeled "eminently conservative." The author of this work comes to conclusions that seriously indict the Catholic population and the Catholic church in this country for their general attitudes, lack of interest, and lack of organized national effort particularly in behalf of the Negro during the hundred-year period 1825-1925.

The author is quick to point out that the study is not a record of the "official attitude of the Catholic Church in America" toward the immigrant and the Negro; none such existed. He attempts, rather, to ascertain what American Catholics, lay and clerical, had to say about these two minority groups; what they emphasized in their treatment; what, if any, contributions they made in the understanding of their problems. His main interest, then, was in determining social thought, not social action.

It was not easy for the author to quote a prominent Negro leader to the effect that "the Catholic Church in America stands for color separation and discrimination to a degree equalled by no other Church in America." He does not agree with those who argue that the Catholic church is not necessarily interested in social welfare but points to the encyclical letters of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI as proof that the church is seriously concerned with social questions. Most pertinent of all his advice to Catholics is his assertion that they should consider social questions not only as they affect the Catholic church but in their general effect upon society.

One questions the advisability of attempting to treat these two minorities in one volume. The author had the idea that as minorities they might have had similar problems. However, this was not so from the very nature of the fact that, Catholics constituted a large part of the immigrant minority; second, the immigrants were part of the white majority in their attitude toward the Negro; and, third, they did not, as a minority group, recognize their relation to the Negro, another minority group.

The work is well indexed and fully documented. It is the hope of the reviewer that this doctoral dissertation will receive wide reading among all church groups, for the Catholic church does not stand alone before the bar of public opinion on these questions.

JOHN J. CRONIN

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

In Defense of Mothers. By LEO KANNER, M.D. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1941. Pp. 167. \$2.00.

Dr. Kanner's entertaining little volume is written to and for mothers. Its keynote is reassurance—reassurance to mothers who according to Dr. Kanner have been preached at, scolded, condemned, advised, and threatened by everyone from physician and expert on child guidance to the advertiser of some "especially prepared cereal" who maintains that if the magic dish is eaten the "child will grow up to be at least a lion tamer." The style of the book is jocular, the humor in places being quite good-natured, in other spots undeniably barbed. This latter emphasis is reserved especially for the psychoanalytic school of thought, one chapter being devoted especially to what Dr. Kanner calls "The Great God Unconscious."

Mothers whose anxiety does not preclude the use of intellectual guidance should find the volume helpful, its common-sense point of view reassuring, its humor refreshing. Dr. Kanner's elaboration of democracy as beginning in the home and being in its fullest sense a way of living, and his discussion of the essential altruism of true mother-love which offers protection to the child while at the same time permitting him to grow as

an individual, should serve to orient relatively well-adjusted parents to certain principles of child-rearing. Reassurance and a gentle reprimand to parents' anxiety are implicit in the chapters which "debunk" everything from the evils of the comic-book to the superstition that prenatal experiences "mark" the child; which point out that "the truth is not a pompous bigot" and explain the richness of the child's fantasy life and patterning after his elders as often being responsible for what adults frown upon as "lies"; which discuss feeding problems, thumb-sucking, restlessness, imagined aches and pains with illustrative examples and suggestions for handling.

In the opinion of this reviewer—and substantiated by the experience of child guidance clinic workers everywhere—those mothers who most need advice of the kind so ably set forth by Dr. Kanner will unfortunately not be able to use this, or any other book, productively. These are the mothers whose disproportionate anxiety about their child stems from internal pressures, which force them to concentrate much energy upon one or many aspects of the child's behavior, training, or health. For these mothers reassurance from reading is seldom forthcoming, and therapy directed toward relieving their anxiety is necessary. It might, therefore, have been advisable for Dr. Kanner to have directed some attention to these mothers in the hope that they might have been guided toward receiving some help for themselves and their children.

Although it is true that there is quackery in child guidance and although parents are undoubtedly exposed to varying theories of behavior, calculated to make them view with alarm, one gains the impression that perhaps too much stress has been laid by Dr. Kanner upon these unfortunate exponents of child guidance. No appreciation, and some depreciation, was given those sincere and reputable professional persons whose aims in working with parents are substantially the same as those of Dr. Kanner but whose theoretical discipline happens to be different. And true progress in work toward an emotionally healthier and happier life for children can, in the opinion of this reviewer, result only when a real attempt is made to arrive at some common denominator among the various psychological schools of thought, with likenesses admitted and differences accepted with real tolerance.

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REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

✓ *Socially Handicapped Children in Non-urban Massachusetts.* By ESTHER P. HILL. Boston: Child Welfare Services, Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare, 1942. Pp. vii+96.

This interesting and provocative little report covers a survey of child welfare needs in Massachusetts completed in 1940. After federal funds for Child Welfare Services became available to Massachusetts, a limited demonstration of case-work service to children was instituted in two predominantly rural sections of the state. In 1939, after three years of experience in these areas, the director of the Division of Child Guardianship of the State Department of Public Welfare (within which Child Welfare Services were operating), the Advisory Committee to the Division, and the United States Children's Bureau consultant decided that the future program could be better formulated in the light of a broader understanding of the child welfare situation in the state. The study was therefore launched under their auspices and financed by Child Welfare Services funds.

Massachusetts is not a highly rural state. Only 4.5 per cent of the people live in towns under 2,500 and only 4.5 per cent in towns from 2,500 to 5,000 population. A study of the entire state seemed impracticable because of time limitations; therefore areas of high population concentration were excluded, and the study was limited to 81 per cent of the 355 municipalities (townships and cities). The "non-urban areas" studied included 21.5 per cent of the state's population.

The objective of the survey was "to ascertain (1) the extent of child care and protective work now being done in non-urban areas . . . by public and private agencies, (2) the need for additional resources for child care and protection, and (3) methods of co-operation which might be developed between public and private agencies meeting those needs."

The usual disparity between urban and nonurban areas in the provision of social work services for children as well as in health and educational services is revealed by the findings of the study, although this disparity is less than would be true of many more rural states. Out of 5,850 children received in care annually in Massachusetts by the public and private child-caring organizations at the time of the study, only 9 per cent came from the nonurban areas included in the study. It was estimated also that of the total of 2,175 children in care on any given date from nonurban areas the State Division of Child Guardianship had 68 per cent, cities and towns had 13 per cent (excluding 50 children boarded with homes and orphanages), while the private institutions and private child-placing agencies together had only 19 per cent. In interpreting the findings of

the study the author emphasizes the low percentage of children cared for by cities and towns as against the large number cared for by organizations which emanate from outside of the local community. The bulk of the service also was found to involve removal of the child from his own community and treatment elsewhere.

Resources to meet placement needs and other specialized services for children were relatively much more adequate than case-work services to children in their own homes. Attention was called to the need of service to those families from which children with special needs have been removed, to children in homes receiving aid to dependent children, and to those receiving general relief. Miss Hill states emphatically that "a locally rooted, general case-work service is essential to a rounded program of social organization in non-urban areas" in order to meet those needs that lie outside the function of the specialized agencies, in order to attain a fuller and more discriminating use of those agencies, for prevention of social disintegration of families, and to balance the "excessive responsibility now vested in outside agencies and to bring the responsibility back to the individual community where it belongs."

This emphasis upon local responsibility is interesting in a state like Massachusetts, which pioneered in the nineteenth century in state responsibility for placement of dependent children in family homes rather than in institutions. It seems to be explained, however, to some extent by the social and political importance of the township in Massachusetts and by the fact that the State Division of Child Guardianship has for some time been handicapped by loads out of all proportion to its appropriations. Certainly no one would question the advantage of providing service and care in their own community for all children for whom suitable plans could be made there. Miss Hill calls attention to the state's favored position from the standpoint of wealth and expresses the belief that existing agencies have not made sufficient effort to rally local financial support. She believes that the great problem in child welfare in Massachusetts rests "in the complexity and rigidity of organization and the lack of machinery for focusing resources on areas of greatest need." She suggests that, although the natural inclination would be to offer assistance first to those towns with the direst need and with little financial ability to meet those needs, a contrary practice of beginning with those towns with some resources and some leadership where demonstrations of service are likely to be influential on local organization is a wiser procedure. Inasmuch as the Child Welfare Services allocation of approximately \$17,500 annually to Massachusetts is so small in relation to the \$5,000,000 expended for child care in the state as a whole, it was thought that it would be most valuable if used as leverage to stimulate local organization.

On the basis of this report, early in 1940 a new plan for Child Welfare Services was adopted. Because of the limited plan in operation up to that time it was possible to embark on the new plans with an accumulated reserve.

The plan which evolved from this survey of needs provides for the continua-

tion of Child Welfare Services under the director of the Division of Child Guardianship, with its activities geared closely into those of other divisions of the State Department of Public Welfare. It provides for a staff, to consist of a supervisor of social services for child welfare, a publicity consultant in child welfare, a research consultant, and two stenographers, in Boston. In addition four area consultants in child welfare are provided for, to work out of four district offices of the Division of Aid and Relief, selected so that they can cover almost the entire state with ease. The state supervisor is responsible for general supervision and leadership of the activities of the staff and for co-ordination of the program with programs of other state departments concerned with children and with all public and private agencies engaged in social services to children. The area child welfare consultants are to integrate the child welfare promotional activities in local communities with those of the State Division of Aid and Relief and "to promote adequate Child Welfare Services in non-urban sections of each district working toward the local assumption of responsibility." Interpretation, community organization, and some demonstration of case work comprise the method.

In addition to a summary of the survey and an interpretation of the findings, the report contains a section setting forth the detailed findings and an appendix which further clarifies the scope and method of the study.

In many sections of the United States Child Welfare Services are pointing the way to sound social planning in rural areas, but unfortunately not much of this experience has yet been published. (This excellent report therefore should meet a real need, not alone for those interested in organization for child welfare but for all students of community organization in nonurban areas.)

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The Socio-economic and Employment Status of Urban Youth in the United States, 1935-36. By BERNARD D. KARPINOS. (U.S. Public Health Bulletin No. 273.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941. Pp. vii+58. \$0.15.

During the winter of 1935-36 the United States Public Health Service, with the co-operation of the Works Progress Administration, inquired into the state of the nation's health by means of a house-to-house canvass of over 700,000 households in eighty-three cities in eighteen states and of some 37,000 households in rural areas in three states. While essentially an inquiry into the extent of illness and the kind and amount of medical care that had been received by persons acutely and chronically ill, the survey also took into consideration certain social and economic factors—such as race, family income, and employment status of persons of working age. Only one phase of the latter subject—the employment status of urban youth, which number some 363,000 white and 39,500

colored young persons, sixteen to twenty-four years of age inclusive—is presented in the present report.

Primarily a statistical study, this report presents its findings in two main chapters: one deals with the employment experience of white youths as related to prevalence of unemployment, family income, educational attainment, and occupational status; the other covers the same items for colored young persons. The final chapter briefly summarizes the findings of the two chapters. A finding of some significance in understanding the unrest among and antisocial behavior of young persons is the fact that, exclusive of new entrants into the labor market, white and colored youths of both sexes showed higher rates of unemployment than workers in any other age group. Another fact borne out by the statistics (and common knowledge among social workers) is that "unemployment of youth progressively increases with a decrease in family income." The report, even though statistical, is readable and should prove to be of interest to social workers who in daily practice come in contact with young persons.

MARY ZAHROBSKY

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Preliminary Report and Recommendations on Problems of Evacuation of Citizens and Aliens from Military Areas: Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration. (House Report No. 1911, 77th Cong., 2d sess.) Washington, D.C., 1942. Pp. iv+33.

The evacuation of 112,000 Japanese aliens and citizens from certain restricted areas on the Pacific Coast constitutes the largest forced removal of individuals that has ever taken place in the history of this country. The chronology of events in the first weeks of this exodus was as follows:

Feb. 2.—A meeting of the entire congressional delegation from the Pacific Coast states.

Feb. 13.—The congressional delegation from the Pacific Coast states transmitted to the President a recommendation that the Army effect a partial or complete evacuation of strategic areas, "eliminating the question of citizenship and basing procedure upon the question of loyalty alone."

Feb. 19.—The President issued an Executive Order authorizing the military authorities to designate areas from which "any or all persons may be excluded."

Feb. 21.—The Tolan Committee initiated an investigation of the problem.

Feb. 23.—The Tolan Committee wired Washington recommending establishment of a regional alien-property custodian to prevent further losses and sacrifice sales among the evacuees.

Feb. 26.—Telegraphic reply was received from the Secretary of the Treasury indicating doubt as to wisdom of appointing a regional alien property custodian.

Mar. 2.—Public Proclamation No. 1 issued by J. L. De Witt, commanding general of the Western Defense Command, defining the zones and areas from which persons are to be excluded under the powers conferred by the President's Executive Order of February 19.

Mar. 9.—Telegram from Secretary of Treasury to the Tolan Committee outlining plan to intrust to the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco the handling of the property problems of the evacuees.

The foregoing sequence of events and the Tolan Committee's discussion of them lead to two inescapable conclusions: (1) the evacuation was instituted by the federal government without adequate advance planning and (2) the congressional delegation from the Pacific Coast states is chiefly responsible for the precipitate action taken, the plan adopted by the President being, in its main outlines, the one recommended by them.

The state of affairs created by these actions has aroused widespread concern. Although pressure from constituents and from the press undoubtedly drove the congressional delegation into hasty action, many people on the Pacific Coast as well as elsewhere in the country deplore the policies adopted and hope to see them amended. Since members of Congress from the West Coast states appear to be mainly responsible, amelioration of present conditions probably must be obtained through their co-operation.

From the Tolan Committee's report and from other sources, evidence is available that reveals the injustices and the hardships occasioned by the mass evacuation. The vast majority of the Japanese are peasant farmers or distributors of fruits and vegetables. Unscrupulous individuals descended upon these people when the evacuation was ordered and bought their property for a song. Electric refrigerators, for example, sold for as little as \$5.00. In some instances the frightened Japanese were visited by persons who palmed themselves off as F.B.I. agents and gave false notice that evacuation would occur within a few hours. The visit of the bogus agents would then be followed by buyers working in league with them, who proceeded to take possession of most of the movable property in exchange for a few dollars. Agricultural losses are even more serious. Some farmers surrendered their leases before removing their buildings and irrigation equipment and thereby forfeited their right to them. Lack of a plan to preserve an equity in growing crops has already resulted in a reduction of 80 per cent in normal planting in Los Angeles County alone. The Tolan Committee estimates that in one prohibited area crop losses amount to \$250,000.

The constitutional questions raised by the present policies are very serious. About 71,000 of the 112,000 Japanese who are being evacuated are American citizens. As the Tolan Committee points out, "wartime does not automatically suspend the Constitution," and "even aliens are guaranteed certain protection afforded by the Constitution." The Constitution does permit suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in case of rebellion or invasion (Art. I, sec. 9). The language does not make clear whether the power to suspend this writ lies in the Executive or in the Congress. Legal opinion favors the latter view. During the Civil War President Lincoln authorized suspension of the writ, and, when Chief Justice Taney questioned his power to do so, Congress explicitly clothed him with the necessary authority. But this arbitrary power "was used so seldom and

with such circumspection both before and after the formal suspension that neither oppression nor noteworthy public protest arose under it."¹ Although the report of the Tolan Committee makes no definite commitment with regard to the constitutional issue, it does point out that "suspension of the writ [of habeas corpus] does not abrogate the Fifth and Fourteenth amendments, which provide for due process and equal protection of the laws." It also notes that, under the Constitution, the President is commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy. The implication appears to be that there is thus an inherent conflict between presidential powers and fundamental constitutional guaranties.

Nevertheless, the essential fact remains that thousands of persons, citizens as well as aliens, are being held in "reception centers" against their will and to their detriment and that no specific charges have been made against these persons. The congressional delegation from the West Coast, the Tolan Committee, and other responsible authorities admit that the great majority of these people are loyal to the United States. Undoubtedly, it is also true that there are persons on the West Coast, citizens as well as aliens, other than Japanese, against whom the country must be protected. The present policy is a confession of inability to distinguish between the majority who are loyal and the small minority who should be apprehended. The justification is that the needs of the state transcend the rights of the individual—a doctrine familiar in totalitarian countries but very repugnant to American tradition, even in time of war. It would, of course, be impossible to evacuate the hundreds of thousands of citizens born in this country of German or Italian parentage. The comparatively small number of Japanese and their easy identification thus makes them the victims of discriminatory treatment.

The experience with the problem of enemy aliens in England perhaps contains suggestions for us. Sentiment ran high at the time when an invasion of Great Britain seemed imminent. As a result, large numbers of aliens were interned, and some were sent to Canada and to Australia. Public protest against this method of mass treatment led to sharp modifications of policy. More than a hundred tribunals were set up for the investigation of individual cases, and twelve regional committees were set up to review doubtful cases. As a result, aliens were divided into three classes: (1) those to be interned, (2) those subject to some restrictions, and (3) those to be free of all restrictions except those applicable to nonenemy aliens.

The Tolan Committee does not recommend citizen boards to review the cases of the Japanese. Apparently it thought matters had gone too far to resort to that procedure, though it does suggest such boards to consider cases of German and Italian aliens. However, the present report is preliminary and is to be followed by a more comprehensive document. Perhaps the final report will expand the present recommendations to include some provision for individualization of the cases of the Japanese. Certainly it is clear that removal to the recep-

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, VII, 575.

tion centers is only a temporary expedient. Ultimately these people must be permanently resettled somewhere; and policies already adopted by some local communities indicate that the Japanese will be unable to buy or lease land in certain communities from which they were removed.

The whole situation is very distressing, and every effort should be made as promptly as possible to amend some of the present procedures. The Tolan Committee, in stressing the need for civilian, as opposed to military, control of resettlement operations, pointed out the need for an understanding of the many problems of health, education, and family problems involved. Up to the present "little or no thought has been given to the welfare of the evacuated children," says the report. It seems clear that the Committee published its preliminary report promptly in the hope of effecting immediate improvements in some of the present policies. The report should receive serious consideration both from Congress and from the administration.

W. McM.

Prison Labor in the United States, 1940. By RICHARD F. JONES, JR. (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bull. No. 698.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941. Pp. vii+288. \$0.30.

This report was prepared in response to a joint resolution of Congress authorizing the Bureau of Labor Statistics to collect information on the quantity, kind, value, and disposition of all goods produced in federal and state prisons in the year 1940. Similar studies have been periodically made since 1885, the last one before 1940 having been made in 1932. The primary purpose was to determine the quantity and value of the several kinds of articles produced or work done by prisoners.

In answer to these inquiries it is stated that "approximately four out of five prisoners and over three-fourths of the value of completed works were concentrated in the construction of new buildings." In the state prisons 53,691,752 auto-license tags valued at \$3,043,950 were produced. Also 40,000,000 pounds of binder twine valued at \$3,039,508 came from prison activities.

This survey included 125 state and 25 federal prisons, as well as 3 county prisons and 1 city prison in which state prisoners were confined, and included all state and federal prisons for adults that were in operation during the greater portion of the year. In these institutions goods are produced under six systems of work, which it may be well to name: The state-use system, under which the goods produced may be used or sold only for the benefit of a state or federal institution or department; the purpose is to make the goods available to public institutions but to avoid competition with free-labor products. Second, there is the so-called "public works and ways system," which differs from the state-use only in the character of the work done. This term is not applied to consumption goods but only to the construction or repair of public buildings, roads, and bridges, and to flood control, land clearance, or reforestation. Third, there is

the state-account system, when the prison manufactures but disposes of the product in the open market. There is, fourth, the contract system, where an outside contractor pays for the use of the prisoners' labor. The contractor furnishes raw materials, tools, and supervision. Or the contractor may pay on the basis of an agreed price per unit of product rather than a unit of labor. And, finally, there has been the lease system, which has disappeared from state and federal prisons.

Two trends in prison labor are apparent. The exploitation of the prisoner for private gain has well-nigh disappeared; but the proportion of prisoners employed has steadily declined and the number of prisoners has increased. There are interesting facts with reference to the number and employment of women prisoners, the type of industry developed, the hours of work, the type of production, and comparisons of production in prisons with private industry. The total value of prison production in manufacturing was \$32,317,997, less than half of 1 per cent of the total value of private production in the specified industries in 1939. Interest has always attached to the question of wages for prisoners, and data on that subject are supplied by this study. A few illustrations may be given. In Alabama they are paid only if called on for night or Sunday work on the roads, for which they are paid 15 cents an hour (p. 33). In California, where they have been experimenting for a number of years on extra-mural compensated labor, the highway commission pays \$2.10 a day. The amounts vary between those amounts (p. 33).

This report is another piece of evidence of the dilemma presented by the evidence that prison goods should not be produced in ways disadvantageous to free labor, and yet that the employment of prisoners in labor which will maintain or develop them industrially is both an economic and a moral obligation. The Hawes-Cooper Act, which in 1929 divested prison-made goods of their interstate character, and the Ashurst-Sumners Act, which in 1935 strengthened the Hawes-Cooper Act and supplemented state legislation, are other pieces of evidence of the same dilemma. To those who doubt the reforming efficacy of imprisonment by whatever feature its deadening effects may be attacked, these figures reveal factors in a situation calling for many other data with reference to the true cost in terms of human resistance. But this comment is perhaps not the place for that discussion. Congress asked for a body of information and the request resulted in an admirable report on a subject of deep concern to the social worker and student of public welfare.

S. P. B.

Seventh Annual Report of the Judicial Council of the State of New York.
New York: Publishers Printing Co., 1941. Pp. 570.

Reference has been made frequently in the pages of the *Review* to the development of the judicial council movement in the United States. Social workers and welfare students have special interest in this development because it is evidence

of recognition of the need of bridging the gap between the three main branches of government, especially between the legislature and the courts. A review of the situation as it existed in 1940 may be found in the *Annual Handbook of the National Conference of Judicial Councils* (Newark, N.J.).¹ These councils, which are now found in thirty-one states, vary in composition, in the grant of powers and responsibilities, and in the resources made available for their work in the shape of appropriations. The New York Council, as is indicated here, has completed its seventh year upon which it reports to the legislature. This council is composed of a member of the bar from each judicial department, and two citizens of the state at large, appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. There are, in addition, certain *ex officio* members, such as the chief judge of the Court of Appeals and the presiding justices of certain other divisions of the judicial structure in New York. It is the duty of the council to make a continuous survey of the organization, jurisdiction, procedure, practice, rules, and methods of administration of each of the courts of the state, whether courts of record or courts not of record; to compile judicial statistics; to investigate criticisms and suggestions from any source recommending changes; to keep advised concerning the decisions of the court with reference to procedure; to recommend changes to the legislature; to adopt and promulgate rules and regulations with respect to the manner of keeping records of the business of any court; and to report before February 15 of each year to the legislature concerning its work.

The clerk of each court of the state, each judge or justice of a court not of record, and the district attorney of each county are laid under a duty to make such reports as the council may direct.

There were twenty-two recommendations proposed by the council in this report. Most of these had to do with matters with which the social worker is not concerned otherwise than as a citizen interested in any improvement in the governmental machinery of one of the states. With some of the recommendations, however, the social worker is concerned. These are, especially, the recommendations with reference to the punishment of juvenile delinquents. The problem of the substitution of treatment procedure for the earlier methods—characteristic of the criminal law—of dealing with young offenders is still far from satisfactorily worked out, and the council, having studied the deficiencies in the law, recommends the repeal of certain sections characterized as “entirely obsolete” and the transfer of certain authority from the Criminal Court to the Juvenile Court.

The social worker is also concerned with a provision altering the jurisdiction of certain magistrates in the city of New York so as to lessen some of the needless hardships of poor defendants held under charges of misdemeanor and unable to give bail.

Another interesting item in the report is a recommendation relating to the

¹ See this *Review*, Vol. XV, 172.

custody of children in actions where the parents have attempted to secure a divorce and have failed in that effort. In these cases in New York, as in a number of other states, it has been held that when the court is unable to grant the divorce, it lacks jurisdiction to determine custody and maintenance of children and if there is any question raised with reference to that custody or maintenance it is necessary for a second action in the nature of a writ of habeas corpus or a petition in equity to be brought.

One great difficulty in the past in the way of securing reforms in judicial procedure has been the absence of reports and the consequent lack of knowledge. Through the judicial councils being set up, this deficiency is gradually being met. Partly because of this deficiency and partly because of the authority exercised by the courts, social workers have been inclined to accept judicial decisions and the general administration of the law as something to be endured but not altered. With the dissemination of this kind of information, social workers and welfare students may find themselves justified in demanding such changes in the law and in the administration of justice as satisfy their sense of what is right and fair and socially desirable.

S. P. B.

Fourth Report, State of Louisiana Department of Public Welfare, July 1, 1940—June 30, 1941. Baton Rouge, 1941. Pp. 114.

This is the record of the activities of the first fiscal year of the present administration of the Louisiana Department of Public Welfare. During that time the department rendered distinguished service in administering the public assistance and child welfare provisions of the Social Security Act. The concern of the state as expressed by the humane and professionally conscious administration of the services of the department for those who are unfortunately "ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed" is recorded in this *Report*, which is divided into three chapters and a statistical appendix.

The first chapter is entitled "Review of the Year" and is an accurate account of the activities of the department. The portions of the chapter on "Some Current Problems" and "Recommendations and Suggestions" are especially noteworthy. Likewise chapter ii, "Organization and Operations of the Department," is comparatively well organized and fairly well written. This section presents a brief but excellent picture of the functional organization of the state and local public welfare organizations, of personnel management and staff development, and of the financing of public welfare.

Chapter iii, "Activities of the Department," contains 44 out of 77 pages of the *Report*, exclusive of the statistical appendix. An attempt is made in this chapter to describe and analyze all the services offered by the department. The impact of the categorical assistance programs—old age assistance, aid to the needy blind, and aid to the dependent children—is presented. Likewise an account is given of the activities of the department in other areas—the administra-

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tion of so-called "Others Assistance," child welfare services, certification to state hospitals, veterans services, etc.

There are certain features that are not so well done as they might have been. For example, some of the statistical material in the main body of the *Report* is rather poorly handled. Table A on page 44, "CWS Cases, Classified by Type of Problem," lists the following as mutually exclusive categories: "Poverty or bad home conditions," "Conduct problems," "Apparent subnormality." This is probably a minor point—especially so because statistical tables are seldom read.

There is one fact that is presented time and time again in the *Report*—the department, at no time in its history, has had sufficient funds "to meet the demands of all eligible applicants for public assistance. This was true of the fiscal year just concluded, in spite of a specific appropriation from the general fund which considerably exceeded the amount of revenues from ear marked taxes in the past." It is hoped that the legislature will take cognizance of this situation and take the necessary steps to provide a sounder financial basis for the department.

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Report, for the Fiscal Year, July 1, 1940—June 30, 1941, State of Oklahoma Department of Public Welfare. Oklahoma City, 1941. Pp. 27.

This report consists of a one-page transmittal letter and twenty-six tables of basic data considered to be of interest to the general public. The covering letter notes that a steady increase in sales-tax collections during the year ending June 30, 1941, was absorbed by increases in average payments and cases aided during the period. Removal of a maximum allowance of \$30 for old age assistance recipients was also mentioned as a factor affecting average payments for this program, while revisions in budgetary standards were considered to explain increases in average grants under the blind and aid to dependent children programs. The letter also states that, owing to limited appropriations, only 60 per cent of the budget deficit was met on aid to dependent children cases, although 90 per cent of such deficiencies were paid on old age assistance and aid to the blind cases. It was pointed out that, as a result of such low payments, only two other states had lower average grants for aid to dependent children.

The total assistance payments during the year in Oklahoma amounted to \$19,845,800. Of this amount, \$16,006,358 was for old age assistance, \$3,374,331 for aid to dependent children, \$414,227 for aid to the blind, \$36,724 for crippled children, and \$14,160 for child welfare direct care. In June, 1941, a total of 76,469 persons received old age assistance, 19,562 families and 44,879 children received aid to dependent children, and 2,153 individuals received aid to the blind.

The covering letter recognizes the responsibility of the department "to supplement statistical reports with reports of a more comprehensive nature" and

indicates that one is planned for the period from July 1, 1940, to June 30, 1942. Such a report will "appraise the development of the assistance programs and will indicate the nature and extent of future assistance needs." A report of that nature will undoubtedly be more useful to the general public than one limited solely to statistical tables.

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Social Welfare, 1941: State of New York Board of Social Welfare, Annual Report for the Year 1941; Seventy-second Report of the State of New York Department of Social Welfare, 1939-1941. (Legislative Documents, 1942, Nos. 28 and 40.) Albany, 1942. Pp. 42 and 94.

The New York State welfare authority was created in 1867 as the New York Board of Charities, and Commissioner David C. Adie and the New York Board may well take pride in their record of three-quarters of a century of service.

In view of all the migratory labor problems created by the war it is an outstanding feature in this *Report* that the long-time problem of settlement is dealt with on the basis of a new and very important study of "settlement" administration in New York. New York has rendered a public service to all the states in its recent thorough, competent, and comprehensive study of settlement regulations. Here, available for the first time, are the facts about the cost involved in the settlement and removal regulations.

Statistical data have shown that the charge-back system wholly within the State, whereby one locality gives the relief and charges another locality for it, is hardly worth the cost to the communities. In the end most of them pay out as much as they receive and in addition have considerable administrative expense. Another interesting finding of the study is that migration toward a community comes from the fact that people think they can find work there and most of them actually do. The consequence is that the localities which are increasing in population and economic activity are also the ones who have most cases to "charge back," whereas the unit of government which is declining in population and business enterprise receives the most bills from other welfare officers. The study also showed that there is little basis for the belief that people migrate in order to "get more relief."

As to those cases for which the State pays the total cost because there is no legal settlement within the State, it is interesting to note that 40 per cent at one time had a legal settlement here and that the average length of continuous residence of these cases before they became State-charges was over six years. Fifty-three per cent of the State-charge cases are non-settled because of the absence from the State of the husband or parent or the fact that the husband or parent had never been domiciled here.

Although the New York Board postponed a final recommendation regarding the abolition of local settlement regulations within the state, such a recommendation is clearly indicated by the competent investigation carried on under their auspices, and the expected recommendation will undoubtedly be forthcoming in the near future.

"Welfare and the War" is the title of an important section of the *Report*. First, there is a reference to the co-operative relations between the local welfare departments and the Selective Service Board. "The principle was early established that any Selective Service Board might ask for certain information from the welfare department concerning the dependency of his family or relatives upon the registrant. Initiative for using this service rests with the Selective Service Board." With regard to the relationship between the Red Cross and the public welfare agencies, the question may be raised as to whether the *Report* is not in error in the statement that "the Red Cross has been designated by law as the official agency to establish and maintain, where necessary, communications between the soldier, his family, and the military officials." The Red Cross is not "designated by law" but is so designated by army regulations. The Red Cross charter from Congress does not make the Red Cross a statutory body with public functions. Its charter from Congress as a corporation not for profit does not make it essentially different from other nonprofit corporations, such as the Boy Scouts, likewise so chartered. Congress or the states may create at any time, and perhaps already have created, new statutory authorities—public assistance or social security or child welfare or other public service organizations—to do the same work on a statutory basis that the Red Cross does on a voluntary basis, except for the work done under army regulations (p. 28).

The *Report* also includes the usual important sections dealing with child welfare, home relief, and institutions. The second part of the *Report* contains the standard statistical reports.

E. A.

The Community Welfare Picture in 34 Urban Areas, 1940. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, June, 1941. Pp. 42+xlx.

The registration of social statistics project is now nearing the middle of its second decade. Although consistent progress has been made, the manifold anomalies of community organization in this country have proved to be very resistant obstacles. Many of these anomalies are pointed out in this report. For example, figures for W.P.A., N.Y.A., and C.C.C. are not maintained on a city basis and most therefore be prorated, sometimes in several steps, from the figures for the larger areas. Since the W.P.A. program alone accounted for approximately one-third of the total community welfare bill in this group of cities, the reluctance with which estimates are accepted is easy to understand. Although most of the data were drawn from careful reports submitted by the local supervisors of the project, a good many estimates had to be used, some of which are said to be "little better than informed guesses."

In spite of the many difficulties that have retarded progress, the approach used appears still to be the most promising one available at the present stage of development of the social services in this country. The local supervisors in each

city—most of whom are thoroughly competent—provide a channel through which continuous educational effort can be carried out and also serve to reduce errors in interpretation on the part of those who submit the original data and those who compile them for purposes of intercity comparison.

This report follows in most respects the pattern of the earlier one relating to the year 1938. The reference tables in the Appendix are preceded by summary tables, textual comments, and numerous charts. In addition to the four sections relating to the major functional fields of social work, there are discussions of several broader questions, such as distribution of the welfare expenditures by geographical regions, by level-of-living classifications, by source of funds, etc. Many of these tables will be of great service to local social planning groups throughout the country. Of special interest is a table that shows for each city the per capita expenditures for general home relief and for surplus commodities. The figures on surplus commodities are not included in the tables on total expenditures, since these foods are regarded, not as relief, but as "a supplement to relief." In every southern city, however, the per capita expenditures for surplus commodities exceeded those for general home relief; and in Washington, D.C., there was a differential of only one cent in favor of the home relief expenditures.

W. McM.

A Study of Public Mental Hospitals of the United States, 1937-39. By SAMUEL W. HAMILTON, M.D., GROVER A. KEMPF, M.D., GRACE C. SCHOLZ, and EVE G. CASWELL. (Public Health Reports Supplement No. 164.) Washington, D.C., 1941. Pp. vii+126. \$0.20.

In the preparation of this report the United States Public Health Service was associated with the Mental Hospital Survey Committee. The study includes an authoritative compilation of data. The Mental Hospital Survey Committee was composed of fourteen distinguished medical practitioners, and participating in the undertaking were eight important associations—the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, American Psychiatric Association, United States Public Health Service, American Medical Association, the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology, American Neurological Association, the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene, the Canadian Medical Association. The report sets out in brief summary form a comprehensive view of the institutional provision for the care of the mentally ill. There is a very brief historical sketch of the development in this field—in which, strangely enough, the name of Dorothea Dix is not mentioned. The analysis is clear and the tabulations carefully explained. Attention is called to the fact that, because of the commitment procedure, the local as well as the state and federal authorities are concerned. The Committee evidently assumes that the reader will understand that services dependent upon local and state administration will be very uneven at any moment and very different in the same jurisdiction at different times. The Com-

mittee recognizes the essential contribution that should be made by social workers who are mentioned with the medical practitioners, the nurses, and the occupational therapists as performing necessary functions both in the admitting and in the release stages of treatment. Vigorous protest is entered against the legalistic and compulsory character of the commitment and detention function, and it is to be hoped that, as the skill and character of the treatment authority become more assured and more widely known, the voluntary submission may be more generally resorted to. This development depends on the confidence felt by the patients and their families in the skill and good faith of the agencies co-operating, and also on the provision available in connection with the release of patients when detention is no longer essential to treatment. Some psychiatrists distinguished in their scientific attainment have not commanded the confidence of the community from the point of view of their objectivity in diagnosis. The slightest suspicion in this area creates a great obstacle to the voluntary submission on the part of the patient and even more on the part of the patient's family.

S. P. B.

✓ *Case Recording in Public Assistance.* Albany: State of New York Department of Social Welfare, David C. Adie, Commissioner, 1942. Pp. 21+Appendix.

This brief manual is the result of a study by Miss Gordon Hamilton and the members of her committee on case recording in the New York public assistance services. It is intended primarily for the use of the workers in the state department, but the statement of principles of recording and the recommendations for organization and arrangement of the record may appeal to a wider audience. The material is presented in three parts: "The Purpose and Use of the Case Record"; "Format and Structure"; "Content."

The need is stressed for accurate, concise, and complete recording, and the ideal record is described as a "short, clear, significant account of the agency's services." It is believed that emphasis upon the inclusion of factual data that can be verified and the exclusion of "presumptive" material, plus good writing, will be an adequate and automatic restraint upon undesirable volume. The recommendations concerning the filing of forms and papers in the record are intended to increase usefulness and to reduce bulk.

Some parts of the manual are disturbing. Is it not a little early to say that the rule, "one household (one family), one folder," is the ultimate objective for a fully integrated program of public assistance, even if the variety of administrative structure does not make this a practical recommendation at present?

The process of determining and reviewing eligibility receives a needed emphasis, but the recording of other services is unnecessarily minimized.

CAROL K. GOLDSTEIN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Civil Defense Measures for the Protection of Children: Report of Observations in Great Britain, February, 1941. By MARTHA M. ELIOT, M.D. (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 279.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942. Pp. xii+186. \$0.30.

Dr. Eliot's valuable and interesting report has already been brought to the attention of the readers of this *Review*.¹ All friends of children in wartime will be grateful to the United States Children's Bureau for making this important document conveniently available. Some very well-selected photographs have been added to the original mimeographed report which was circulated.

The story of what happens to children in a country at war, even if that country has not been invaded or occupied, is told by one of our expert and best-qualified observers. Dr. Eliot, the Children's Bureau, and the Civil Defense Mission are to be congratulated on its publication.

¹ *Social Service Review*, XV, 559-602; XVI, 1-36.

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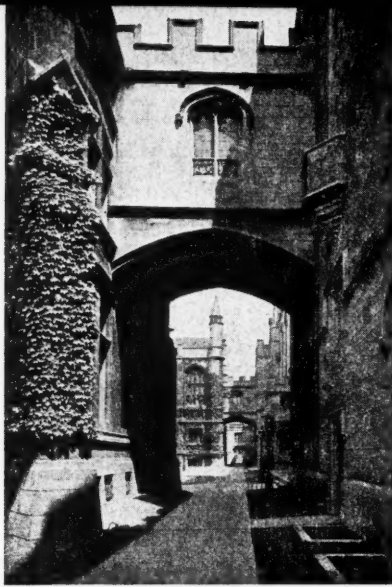
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